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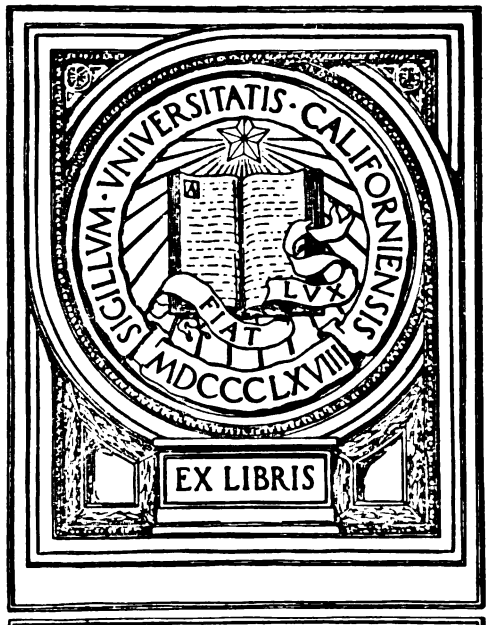

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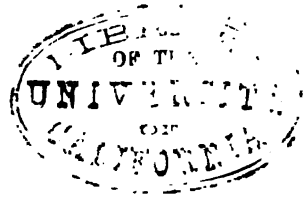
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Aug. 22, 1802.—Sept. 14, 1886.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.—VOL. IV.

EARLY
CHICAGO AND ILLINOIS

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

BY EDWARD G. MASON,

PRESIDENT OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED TO THE MEMORY OF

JONATHAN BURR,

BORN AT BRIDGEWATER, MASS., MARCH 6, 1794;

BECAME A RESIDENT OF CHICAGO IN 1848;

WHERE HE DIED, FEBRUARY 4, 1869.

He was a highly-esteemed citizen, distinguished for his benevolence. By his last will he distributed the bulk of his fortune, amounting to more than two hundred thousand dollars, among the public institutions of Chicago. To the Chicago Historical Society, of which he was an honorary life-member, he bequeathed the sum of two thousand dollars in trust to invest the same, and to use the annual income thereof at its discretion toward defraying the expenses of its publications. He expressed the desire that the principal sum so bequeathed should be made the foundation of a perpetual fund, the income of which should be expended for this purpose. The cost of printing this volume has been provided for by the income of this fund.

PREFACE.

THE present volume is the fourth in order of publication of the collection of the Chicago Historical Society. It has been the intention of the committee in charge, in arranging the material at hand, to print first that relating to our own time, then matter of earlier date in the present century, and finally that relating to the last century. This material also lends itself readily to another arrangement; first, of papers immediately concerning Chicago; next, of those having more reference to the State of Illinois, and the various territorial organizations comprising its area; and lastly, those relating to the period of the possession of the Illinois country by Great Britain. Other documents of the days of British and of French Illinois, which the limits of this volume did not permit to be printed now, are reserved for future publication.

Of the six memoirs of deceased citizens of Chicago included in this volume, that of Gurdon S. Hubbard is by Hon. Grant Goodrich; that of Hon. Isaac N. Arnold is by Hon. Elihu B. Washburne; that of Hon. Mark Skinner is by E. W. Blatchford; that of Hon. E. B. Washburne is by Gen. Geo. W. Smith; that of Philo Carpenter, Esq., is by Rev. Henry L. Hammond; and that of Samuel Stone, Esq., is by Mrs. Wm. Barry. The portraits which accompany them are for the most part gifts to the Society from the relatives or friends of those thus commemorated.

The address upon the first lieutenant-governor of Illinois, Pierre Menard, is by Hon. H. S. Baker of Alton, Ill., by whom it was delivered at the unveiling of the statue of Menard, presented to the State of Illinois by Charles Chouteau, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo., and standing in the capitol grounds at Springfield, Ill. The memoir of the pioneer trader, Noel le Vasseur, is by Hon. Stephen R. Moore of Kankakee, Ill. The biographies of John Rice Jones, the earliest and foremost lawyer in the Northwest Territory, and of his family are by his grandson, Mr. W. A. Burt Jones of St. Paul, Minn., and the portrait is from an original in the possession of his only surviving son, Hon. George W. Jones of Dubuque, Ia.

The introduction to the Lists of Early Illinois Citizens, and the sketches of Pierre Menard, John Todd, and Philippe de Rocheblave, are by Mr. E. G. Mason. The portrait of Pierre Menard, the view of his residence at Kaskaskia, and the fac-similes of Col. John Todd's proclamation in French and English are from originals in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

For several of the letters printed in the John-Todd Papers, we are indebted to the invaluable "Calendar of Vigrinia State-Papers," published under the authority of that State, and for others hitherto unpublished to the kindness of Wm. Wirt Henry, Esq., of Richmond, Va.

For the remainder of the John-Todd Papers, and for all of the Rocheblave Papers, we are under obligation to the "Canadian Archives," and the copies of the Haldimand Collection there preserved, and especially to the archivist, Douglas Brymner, Esq. His labors in obtaining these copies, his admirable calendar of the collection, and his courtesy in making it accessible entitle him to the gratitude of all who are interested in our history.

The remarkable collection by Sir Frederick Haldimand of his correspondence and official documents during his service in America, and particularly as governor of Canada, from June 30, 1778, until the latter part of 1784, comprising two hundred and thirty-two volumes, was presented by his nephew to the British Museum in 1857. Since that time it has been known to a few scholars, but it was not until Mr. Brymner's reports on the "Canadian Archives" for 1882 and subsequent years were published that there was any general recognition by historical students of the exceeding value of this collection. It is not too much to say that the light it casts, particularly upon the period of the Revolution, necessitates the rewriting of that part at least of the history of the Northwest. Selections from this collection have been printed by the historical societies of Michigan and Wisconsin, and now by that of Chicago. It would be a fitting and worthy work for the State of Illinois to undertake the publication of this entire collection, which contains the most authentic and, to a great degree, the only record of the early days of the Illinois country.

CHICAGO, January 1, 1890.

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Frank R. Chandler	1869		
Samuel Blanchard Chase	1877		
Ellis Sylvester Chesbrough	1869	died Aug. 17, 1886	73
Augustus Louis Chetlain	1878		
George C. Clarke	1877	died April 5, 1887	49
John M. Clark	1888		
J. Thorn Clarkson	1888		
Lewis L. Coburn	1877		
Charles Counselman	1888		
Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin	1888		
Burton C. Cook	1883	resigned in 1888	
Henry Corwith	1883	died Sept. 15, 1888	75
Ambrose Cramer	1888	resigned in 1889	
John Crerar	1867	died Oct. 19, 1889	63
Shelby M. Cullom	1889		

NAME	ELECTED	CEASED	AGE
Belden Farrand Culver	1857	trans. to Corresponding	
Nathan Smith Davis, M.D.	1856		
John DeKoven	1888		
Oscar C. DeWolf	1882	resigned Nov., 1888	
William Elkanah Doggett	1864	died April 3, 1876	56
J. Hall Dow	1881	died May 12, 1886	—
John High Dunham	1862		
James Sears Dunham	1879		
John Villers Farwell, Jr.	1884		
Nathaniel K. Fairbank	1879		
C. Norman Fay	1888		
George Harris Fergus	1880	trans. from Associate	
Henry Field	1882		
John Herbert Foster	1857	died May 18, 1874	74
John W. Foster	1857	died June 29, 1873	58
Allen Curtis Fuller	1883		
Charles W. Fullerton	1881		
Lyman J. Gage	1882		
John J. Glessner	1888		
Joseph O. Glover	1883	resigned in 1887	
Edward Goodman	1869		
Daniel Goodwin	1887		
William Cutting Grant	1882	died Sept. 25, 1887	58
Samuel C. Griggs	1861	resigned	
Charles F. Gunther	1883		
Albert David Hager	1877	died July 29, 1888	71
Chalkley J. Hambleton	1888		
Charles D. Hamill	1882		
Amos J. Harding	1881	trans. from Associate	
John Charles Haines	1857	removed	
Charles M. Henderson	1882		
William G. Hibbard	1882		
William Hickling	1870	died Aug. 25, 1881	68
VanHolst Higgins	1856		
George M. Higginson	1869	trans. to Corresponding	
John High, Jr.	1857	died Oct. 19, 1857	50
Harlow N. Higinbotham	1882		
Charles Hitchcock	1869	died May 6, 1881	54
Max Hjörtsberg	1878	died May 15, 1880	—
Charles B. Holmes	1882		
Charles L. Hutchinson	1888		
Edward S. Isham	1864		
Henry P. Isham	1879		
Ralph N. Isham	1879		
Huntington W. Jackson	1888		
Obadiah Jackson	1869	died March 13, 1878	41

NAME	ELECTED	CEASED	AGE
John J. Janes	1884		
William Sage Johnson	1877	died March 21, 1882	59
Daniel A. Jones	1882	died Jan. 11, 1886	79
Mahlon Ogden Jones	1879	resigned	
Francis H. Kales	1869	died Nov. 9, 1883	51
Edson Keith	1888		
William D. Kerfoot	1883		
Charles P. Kimball	1883	resigned	
William W. Kimball	1888		
Henry W. King	1877		
Edward Channing Larned	1882	died Sept. 18, 1884	65
Edward F. Lawrence	1889		
John T. Lester	1888		
William Lill	1850	died Aug. 11, 1875	67
Robert Todd Lincoln	1869		
Haines H Magee	1859	died Jan. 16, 1879	75
George Manierre	1856	died May 21, 1863	46
George Manierre, Jr.	1889		
Edward Gay Mason	1879		
Henry Burall Mason	1888		
Roswell B Mason	1883		
Franklin McVeagh	1882		
Alexander C. McClurg	1878		
Cyrus Hall McCormick	1877	died May 13, 1884	75
Cyrus Hall McCormick, Jr.	1882		
Leander J. McCormick	1877	resigned in 1889	
Samuel H. McCrea	1880	resigned in 1887	
Henry G. Miller	1888		
John Moses	1887		
Charles H. Mulliken	1879		
Henry H. Nash	1880		
Murry Nelson	1888		
J. J. P. Odell	1888		
William A. Otis	1888		
Potter Palmer	1879		
Abram M. Pence	1880		
Erskine M. Phelps	1880		
Henry H. Porter	1883		
Sartell Prentice	1879		
George M. Pullman	1882		
Charles Henry Ray, M.D.	1856	died Sept. 24, 1870	49
Edward Kendall Rogers	1862	died May 2, 1883	72
Julius Rosenthal	1869	trans. to Corresponding	
Julian Sidney Rumsey	1871	died April 28, 1886	63
Horatio N. Rust	1877	removed	
Arthur Ryerson	1883		

NAME	ELECTED	CEASED	AGE
Homer E. Sargent	1865		
Sidney Sawyer	1878		
Gilbert B. Shaw	1889		
James Washington Sheahan	1871	died June 17, 1883	59
Henry M. Sherwood	1882	resigned Nov., 1889	
Stephen V. Shipman	1877	resigned	
John G. Shortall	1888		
Edward A. Small	1877	died Jan. 13, 1882	71
William A. Smallwood	1857	died Jan. 2, 1867	63
George W. Smith	1867		
Solomon A. Smith	1869	died Nov. 25, 1879	64
Orson Smith	1888		
Alexander C. Soper	1880		
Franklin F. Spencer	1882	resigned	
Albert A. Sprague	1886		
Otho S. A. Sprague	1886		
James Landon Stark	1861	died Feb. 17, 1873	—
Ralph Edward Starkweather, M.D.	1888		
Edward S. Stickney	1877	died March 20, 1880	—
Joseph Stockton	1881	resigned in 1887	
Melville E. Stone	1880		
Woolsey M. Stryker	1882	resigned	
Elisha H. Talbott	1880	resigned in 1888	
John H. Thatcher	1877	resigned in 1888	
John Leverett Thompson	1867	died Jan. 31, 1888	53
Edward Islay Tinkham	1856	died Dec. 2, 1873	—
Lambert Tree	1881		
John A. Tyrrell	1864	died July 8, 1887	71
William M. VanNortwick	1888		
Francis L. Wadsworth	1883		
James M. Walker	1877	died Jan. 23, 1881	61
John Richard Walsh	1882		
Samuel Dexter Ward	1857		
Ezra J. Warner	1888		
J. Esaias Warren	1884	resigned in 1887	
Elihu Benjamin Washburne	1881	died Oct. 22, 1887	71
Hempstead Washburne	1882	resigned in 1888	
Elias T. Watkins	1869		
Joseph Dana Webster	1857	died March 12, 1876	65
George Henry Wheeler	1888		
Julius White	1880	trans. to Associate	
Norman Williams	1867		
Sidney Williams	1888		
Simeon B. Williams	1888		
Benjamin M. Wilson	1888		

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

This classification of members has been abolished.

Mrs. Margaret Maria O'Donohue, John Newell,
Charles N. Fessenden, Augustine W. Wright,
Julius White.

HONORARY MEMBERS:

NAME	RESIDENCE	ELECTED	DIED	AGE
Samuel Greene Arnold	Providence, R.I.	1878	Feb. 13, 1880	59
George Bancroft	Washington, D.C.	1861		
William H. Bissell	Belleville, Ill.	1856	Mch. 18, 1860	49
Henry Williams Blodgett	Chicago	1882		
Sidney Breese	Carlyle, Ill.	1878	June 27, 1878	78
John Bright	England	1860	April, 1889	78
Lewis Cass	Detroit	1861	June 17, 1866	84
Richard Cobden	England	1860	April 2, 1865	61
Edward Coles	Philadelphia	1861	July 7, 1868	82
Isaac Craig	Alleghany, Penn.	1882		
Stephen Arnold Douglas	Chicago	1857	June 3, 1861	48
Thomas Drummond	Chicago	1882		
Edward Everett	Boston	1860	Jan. 15, 1865	71
Thomas Foley (Bishop)	Chicago	1870	Feb. 19, 1879	56
Lady Jane Franklin	England	1860	July 18, 1875	73
Samuel Smith Harris (Bishop)	Detroit, Mich.	1879	Aug. 21, 1888	47
Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard	Chicago	1877	Sept. 14, 1886	86
David King	Newport, R.I.	1878	Mch. 7, 1882	70
Mrs. John H. Kinzie	Chicago	1863	Sept. 15, 1870	64
John George Kohl	Bremen, Germany	1856	Oct. 28, 1878	70
Abraham Lincoln	Springfield, Ill.	1861	Apr. 14, 1865	56
Pierre Margry	Paris, France	1879		
Matthew Fontaine Maury	Lexington, Va.	1861	Feb. 1, 1873	67
Wm. Edward McLaren (Bishop)	Chicago	1878		
John McMullen (Bishop)	Davenport, Ia.	1879	July 4, 1883	51
Charles D. Mosher	Chicago	1880		
John Lothrop Motley	Dorchester, Mass.	1863	May 29, 1877	63
Duke of Newcastle	England	1860	Oct. 18, 1864	53
Frederick Nolte	Paris, France	1881		
Richard James Oglesby	Elkhart, Ill.	1864		
William Frederick Poole	Chicago	1877		
Horatio N. Powers	Bridgeport, Conn.	1881		
William Hickling Prescott	Boston	1857	Jan. 28, 1859	63
John Reynolds	Belleville, Ill.	1861	May 8, 1865	77
Charles Rogers	England	1880		
James Savage	Boston	1860	Mch. 8, 1873	89
Goldwin Smith	Toronto, Ont.	1864		
Jared Sparks	Cambridge, Mass.	1860	Mch. 14, 1866	77
William L. Stone	Jersey City, N. J.	1881		
Charles Sumner	Boston, Mass.	1861	Mch. 11, 1874	63
Lyman Trumbull	Chicago	1861		
Henry C. VanSchaack	Manlius, N.Y.	1878	Dec. 16, 1887	85
James Barr Walker (Rev.)	Wheaton, Ill.	1877	Mch. 6, 1887	82
Robert Charles Winthrop	Boston, Mass.	1861		
Richard Yates	Jacksonville, Ill.	1863	Nov. 27, 1873	58

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS:

NAME	RESIDENCE	ELECTED	DIED	AGE
Alfred T. Andreas	Chicago	1879		
Thomas H. Armstrong	Chicago	1879	May 3, 1884	84
Henry Asbury	Chicago	1883		
Samuel T. Atwater	Buffalo, N.Y.	1878		
Henry Samuel Baird	Green Bay, Wis.	1864		
David Jewett Baker	Alton, Ill.	1856	Aug. 6, 1869	77
George H. Baker	New-York City	1887		
Henry Bannister	Evanston, Ill.	1859	Apr. 15, 1883	—
John Stetson Barry (Rev.)	Wakefield, Mass.	1857	Dec., 1872	53
John Russell Bartlett	Providence, R. I.	1857	May 28, 1886	81
Edmund Mills Barton	Worcester, Mass.	1887		
Oliver L. Buskin	Chicago	1879		
Hiram Williams Beckwith	Danville, Ill.	1879		
John H. Beers	Chicago	1884		
Rufus Blanchard	Chicago	1877		
Daniel Bonbright	Evanston, Ill.	1881		
Benjamin Nicodemus Bond	Stanberry, Mo.	1880		
Henry R. Boss	Chicago	1879		
Benjamin L. T. Bourland	Peoria, Ill.	1889		
Jonathan Bowman	Kilbourne City, Wis.	1888		
C. Davis Bradlee (Rev.)	Boston, Mass.	1857		
Wesley Raymond Brink	Edwardsville, Ill.	1881		
Charles Brooks	Medford, Mass.	1863	July 7, 1872	76
Mrs. Harriet C. Brown	Chicago	1881	Sept. 11, 1883	76
Orville Hickman Browning	Quincy, Ill.	1857	Aug. 10, 1881	71
Edmund Bruwaert	Chicago	1882		
John Howard Burnham	Bloomington, Ill.	1879		
Mrs. Pamelia C. Calhoun	Chicago	1880	Aug. 14, 1889	79
Frank Cantelo	Peoria, Ill.	1889		
Mrs. Maria G. Carr	Chicago	1887		
John Dean Caton	Chicago	1859		
Charles C. Chapman	Chicago	1880		
Frank M. Chapman	Chicago	1886		
George Churchill	Troy, Ill.	1856	Aug. 11, 1872	—
Samuel Clarke Clarke	Marietta, Ga.	1857		
Augustus Hammond Conant (Rev.)	Rockford, Ill.	1856	Feb. 8, 1863	51
Belden Farrand Culver	Chicago	1857		
Henry B. Dawson	Morrisania, N.Y.	1880		
William Frederick DeWolf	Chicago	1878		
Charles H. G. Douglas	Chicago	1879		
Lyman Copeland Draper	Madison, Wis.	1880		
Henry T. Drowne	New-York City	1877		

NAME	RESIDENCE	ELECTED	DIED	AGE
J. P. Dunn, Jr.	Indianapolis, Ind.	1889		
Reuben T. Durrett	Louisville, Ky.	1887		
Daniel S. Durrie	Madison, Wis.	1880		
Zebina Eastman	Maywood, Ill.	1866	June 14, 1883	68
Joseph H. Eaton	U.-S. Army	1856		
Benjamin Stephenson Edwards	Springfield, Ill.	1857	Feb. 4, 1886	68
Ninian Wirt Edwards	Springfield, Ill.	1859	Sept. 2, 1889	80
S. Hopkins Emery	Taunton, Mass.	1857		
Bernard Felsenthal	Chicago	1866		
Cornelius Conway Felton	Cambridge, Mass.	1857	Feb. 26, 1862	55
Robert Fergus	Chicago	1879		
Peter Force	Washington, D.C.	1857	Jan. 23, 1868	78
Jacob Fouke	Vandalia, Ill.	1879		
Asa Bird Gardner	New-York City	1881		
Joseph Gillespie	Edwardsville, Ill.	1857	Jan. 7, 1885	76
Charles Gilpin	Philadelphia, Pa.	1881		
Richard A. Gilpin	Lima, Pa.	1881		
Albert A. Graham	Columbus, O.	1879		
James Duncan Graham	Boston, Mass.	1857	Dec. 28, 1865	66
James Gray	Grayville, Ill.	1863	Oct. 29, 1865	—
Samuel Abbott Green, M.D.	Boston, Mass.	1861		
Mrs. Rose F. Hager	Chicago	1883		
Elijah Middlebrook Haines	Waukegan, Ill.	1865	Apr. 25, 1889	69
James Hall	Cincinnati, O.	1857	July 5, 1868	75
George H. Harlow	Chicago	1879		
Robert J. Harmer	Chester, Ill.	1879		
Charles Harpel	Chicago	1883		
Ozias M. Hatch	Springfield, Ill.	1864		
Samuel Foster Haven	Worcester, Mass.	1857	Sept. 5, 1881	75
Joseph Henry	Washington, D.C.	1857	May 13, 1878	81
Alexander Hesler	Chicago	1879		
John Howard Hickox	Albany, N.Y.	1857		
Richard Hildreth	Massachusetts	1857	July 11, 1865	58
Henry H. Hill	Chicago	1880		
George M. Higginson	Chicago	1869		
Adolphus Skinner Hubbard	San Francisco, Cal.	1879		
Edwin Hubbard	Bennington, Vt.	1878		
Miss Laura M. Hubbard	Chicago	1879		
Charles W. Hunter	Alton, Ill.	1856	Mch. 16, 1860	76
Joseph Hunter (Rev.)	London, Eng.	1856	May 9, 1861	78
Henry H. Hurlbut	Chicago	1880		
William B. Isham	New-York City	1884		
Gabriel S. Jones	Chester, Ill.	1879		
Kiler Kent Jones	Quincy, Ill.	1877	Aug. 20, 1886	62
Dwight H. Kelton	Quincy, Mich.	1886		
William H. Kimball	Concord, N.H.	1881		

NAME	RESIDENCE	ELECTED	DIED	AGE
Henry Clay Kinney (Rev.)	Chicago	1879		
Arthur M. Knapp	Boston, Mass.	1880		
George S. Knapp	Chicago	1887		
Ebenezer Lane	Chicago	1856	June 12, 1860	67
Increase A. Lapham	Milwaukee, Wis.	1856	Sept. 14, 1875	64
Joseph P. Leavitt	Chicago	1881	Dec. 23, 1882	—
Benjamin F. Lewis	Chicago	1886		
Washington Leverett	Alton, Ill.	1886	Dec. 13, 1889	84
Charles E. Lippincott	Chandlerville, Ill.	1883	Sept. 11, 1887	62
Thomas Lippincott (Rev.)	Pana, Ill.	1860	Apr. 13, 1869	—
Stephen Harriman Long	Alton, Ill.	1859	Sept. 4, 1864	80
Henry Loomis	Burlington, Vt.	1860		
Anthony Johnson Ludlam	Atlanta, Ill.	1879		
George Perkins Marsh	Rome, Italy	1859	July 23, 1882	81
James McGovern (Rev.)	Lockport, Ill.	1886		
Sterling Young McMasters	St. Paul, Minn.	1857		
Eliza Meachem	New Haven, Conn.	1886		
Peter A. Menard	Kaskaskia, Ill.	1886		
Frederick Metzger	Kaskaskia, Ill.	1879		
Anson S. Miller	Wright, Cal.	1864		
George Henry Moore	New-York City	1863		
Edmund B. O'Callahan	New-York City	1857	May 29, 1880	77
William Butler Ogden	New-York City	1888		
William J. Onahan	Chicago	1880		
Nathan H. Parker	St. Louis, Mo.	1866		
Peter Parker	Washington, D.C.	1857		
Francis Parkman	Boston, Mass.	1857		
Robert Wilson Patterson (Rev.)	Chicago	1878		
John Mason Peck (Rev.)	Rock Spring, Ill.	1856	Mch. 15, 1858	69
Stephen D. Peet	Clinton, Wis.	1881		
William H. Perrin	Louisville, Ky.	1881		
Amos Perry	Providence, R.I.	1878		
J. Watts de Peyster	New-York City	1880		
William Pickering	Albion, Ill.	1865	Apr. 22, 1873	—
George W. Prickett	Chicago	1882		
John Russell	Bluffdale, Ill.	1856	Jan. 21, 1863	—
William Henry Ryder (Rev.)	Chicago	1863	Mch. 8, 1888	66
Henry R. Schoolcraft	Washington, D.C.	1857	Dec. 10, 1864	71
John Wilson Shaffer	Salt-Lake City	1866	Oct. 30, 1870	—
John R. Shannon	Chester, Ill.	1879	Dec. 13, 1882	56
George E. Shipman	Chicago	1857		
John C. Smith	Chicago	1879		
Robert Smith	Alton, Ill.	1857	Dec. 21, 1867	65
Miss Ann Elizabeth Stone	Chicago	1880	——— 1888	—
William H. Swift	New-York City	1857	Apr. 7, 1879	79
Harriet A. Tenney	Lansing, Mich.	1886		

NAME	RESIDENCE	ELECTED	DIED	AGE
Reuben G. Thwaites	Madison, Wis.	1889		
Caleb B. Tillinghast	Boston, Mass.	1880		
Alpheus Todd	Ottawa, Ont.	1864	Jan. 22, 1884	63
Gustavus Unonius	Upsala, Sweden	1857		
George P. Upton	Chicago	1866		
Addison VanName	New Haven, Conn.	1886		
Thomas A. M. Ward	Philadelphia, Pa.	1877		
Townsend Ward	Chicago	1865		
Hooper Warren	Henry Co., Ill.	1861	Aug. 25, 1864	74
James Waterman	Sycamore, Ill.	1881	July 19, 1883	—
Winslow C. Watson	Port Kent, N.Y.	1859		
Albert E. Wells	Central City, Neb.	1880		
William Harvey Wells	Chicago	1857	Jan. 21, 1885	73
Henry Benjamin Whipple	Faribault, Minn.	1864		
Samuel Willard	Chicago	1880		
J. Fletcher Williams	St. Paul, Minn.	1880		
Charles Lush Wilson	Chicago	1864	Mch. 9, 1878	60
James Grant Wilson	New-York City	1880		
John McNeill Wilson	Englewood, Ill.	1879	Dec. 7, 1883	81
Robert J. Woodruff	Chicago	1886		

EARLY CHICAGO AND ILLINOIS

GURDON S. HUBBARD,

A Settler of Chicago in 1818.

By Hon. GRANT GOODRICH.

Read before the Chicago Historical Society, November 16, 1886.

GURDON SALTONSTALL HUBBARD, the subject of this memoir, was born in Windsor, Vt., Aug. 22, 1802, his father, Elizur Hubbard, and mother, Abigail Sage, were natives of Connecticut. They had six children, four girls and two sons, of whom Gurdon was the eldest. His father was a lawyer by profession, but through unfortunate speculations became poor, and could afford his son only the advantages of a common-school education, except about a year in the higher branches, under the tuition of a clergyman. His father, hoping to better his condition, removed with his family to Montreal, Canada, in May, 1815, but on his arrival found the Canadian laws prohibited him to practise his profession until after a residence of five years. Every effort, therefore, became necessary to support the family, and young Hubbard here practised his first lessons in trade. He borrowed twenty-five cents of a friend, and on this capital commenced the purchase of articles of food from farmers, coming to market, and selling them at a profit, and during the winter, made profits of from $80 to $100, mostly contributed to the family treasury. In April, 1816, he obtained a situation in a hardware store, his board being his only compensation. By his faithful attention to his duties he won the confidence of his employers and the clerks in the store. He also became

acquainted with William Matthews, agent of the American Fur-Company at Montreal.

In the fall of 1817, John Jacob Astor, president of the company, ordered Matthews to employ twelve young men as clerks, and one hundred Canadian *voyageurs* to report to Ramsey Crooks at Mackinac. A clerk in the store, eighteen years old and the youngest of all, was the twelfth engaged. On learning of his engagement, young Hubbard, though not sixteen years old, resolved to obtain a situation in the expedition. As was to be expected, his father and mother refused their assent; but so persistent was he, they finally agreed he might go if he could procure an appointment, knowing the number required was full and believing it impossible for him to do so. He applied to Matthews and pleaded with him so earnestly that he finally agreed to take him into the service of the company for five years at $120 a year, if he could obtain the consent of his parents, which he thought unlikely. His parents kept their promise, and though his friends pointed out the dangers, fatigues, and exposures to which he would be subjected, he persevered, and entered into the required agreement, thus overcoming what seemed insurmountable obstacles by an address, judgment, and persistency indicative of the character and success of his maturer years.

On April 13, 1818, the expedition embarked from Montreal in open boats, loaded with goods and supplies for Mackinac, the capital of the American Fur-Company, from which all expeditions were fitted out for the entire Northwest, to collect and bring back furs to that place, to be assorted and prepared for market. The fatiguing labor of pushing their boats up the strong current, and dragging them over the foaming rapids of the St. Lawrence, and then carrying them overland to Lake Simcoe, and thence over the portage to the Nottawasaga River, by which they reached Lake Huron, can be better imagined than

described; but it was accomplished, and they reached Mackinac, July 4. The fare of the clerks was tea, sugar, hardbread, and salt pork. Young Hubbard endured the labors and braved the dangers of the voyage without a murmur of complaint, and at Mackinac entered with cheerfulness upon the performance of the duties assigned him, in which he was engaged from five in the morning to seven in the evening, with one hour's interval for dinner. We are prepared to expect from one so young who thus voluntarily left friends, home, and the comforts of civilization, with full knowledge of the privations, toils, and certain perils inseparable from the life of a fur-trader, something of that wonderful courage, judgment, and skill which were so conspicuously displayed in his subsequent life. Any suspicions that his action was inspired by the spirit of youthful romance or the love of wild adventure, is dissipated by the fact, that in obedience to the promptings of filial duty, he at once ordered $80 a year of his salary paid to relieve the wants of his family, and continued to do so during all the years of his apprenticeship.

Mr. Hubbard has left an intensely-interesting record of his life and adventures of the first two or three years while in the employment of the fur-company. I could delight you with numerous extracts of most thrilling interest, but I must content myself with allusions to a few which best serve to illustrate some prominent characteristic of the man, or are necessarily connected with the conquest of the Northwest from its savagery by the forces of civilization, or will enable us to appreciate the quality and discipline of the school in which he received his business education.

The company employed four hundred clerks and two thousand *voyageurs*. He was assigned to a brigade—as each outfit was called—to trade at Fond du Lac. He found a young man anxious to exchange places with him, which was done. This young man was frozen to death

the succeeding winter. Young Hubbard was transferred to the brigade of Antoine Deschamps, a man of education and experience; they were to operate in northern Illinois, and left Mackinac, Sept. 10, arriving in Chicago, Oct. 1, 1818. The only dwellings then outside of the garrison enclosure were of logs, one occupied by John Kinzie, one by Antoine Ouillmette, and one at Bridgeport, then called Hardscrabble. After resting a few days, they proceeded up the south branch of the Chicago River, and through Mud Lake into the Desplaines River, and thence into the Illinois, and down that river to Fort Clark, now Peoria. The French settlers at Peoria had been suspected of sympathy with the British in the War of 1812–15, and had been driven from their homes by the government, causing a bitter feeling, which extended to some of the Indians. Though Mr. Deschamps had informed them that he had brought this young man from Montreal, and he was his adopted son, they doubted the truth of his statement, insisting he was an American; and a young Indian brave sought to provoke a quarrel with him. Deschamps left him in the boat in charge of one of the men, and what occurred I give in Mr. Hubbard's own language: "The Indian, using the man as interpreter, saying I was an American, took from his sack, one after another, several scalps, and showing them to me, said they were the scalps of my people. I was trembling with fear, which he observed, and drawing from his sash a long-haired scalp, he wet it and sprinkled the water in my face. In a moment my fear turned to rage, and seizing Mr. Deschamps double-barrelled gun which lay in the bottom of the boat, took deliberate aim at him and fired; the man left with me, seeing my intention, struck up the barrel and saved the Indian. Hearing the report of the gun and the consequent confusion created, Mr. Deschamps and the men with him came running back to the boats, and after a short

consultation, ordered them pushed out and started down the stream."

Few instances can be found in boy or man of more daring resistance of intended insult, and which not to have resisted would have provoked a grosser repetition. This was the first exhibition of that personal bravery and steady courage so often exhibited in his eventful life, and which commanded the respect of friends and foes. It attracted the notice and secured the life-long friendship of that noted Indian chief Shau-be-na, and also of Waba, the chief of the Indians in the vicinity of the trading-post where he was stationed, who called to see the "little American brave," and Waba, who had recently lost a son, adopted him as his son. Before the hunting-season commenced he was permitted to visit his father and brother at St. Louis, who were on their way to Arkansas to locate there. He says there were then about eight hundred inhabitants in St. Louis, composed of French, British, Spaniards, and Americans. Cahokia, on the Illinois side of the river, was then the larger place, containing about one thousand people. On his return from St. Louis, he went to his trading-post on the Illinois opposite the mouth of the Bureau River, one mile above the present town of Hennepin; it was in charge of Mr. Beebeau, and young Hubbard was the bookkeeper. His time was mostly spent in acquiring the Indian language and in hunting, at which he became expert, being able to travel forty and fifty miles a day.

In the succeeding spring, the boats from all the stations having been collected, they started on their return, and passing through Chicago, coasting the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, arrived at Mackinac about the middle of May, 1819. He here learned of the death of his father, and feeling it his duty to go to the relief and comfort of his mother, tendered his resignation to the company, which was refused. His skill in assorting furs doomed him to

that laborious and responsible position during this and subsequent years.

When the outfits for the succeeding winter were arranged, to his surprise and regret he was ordered to take charge of an expedition and post about sixty miles up the Muskegon River, having for his aid a Frenchman, Jacques Dufrain, well acquainted with the Indians of that part of Michigan. The appointment to such a position of a youth of seventeen with only one year's experience is the most emphatic evidence of the high estimation entertained by his superiors of his ability, prudence, and fidelity; and, though he shrunk from assuming such a responsibility, Mr. Crooks refused to reverse his decision, and about the middle of October he started for his destination, in company with the Illinois brigade. Storms and adverse winds prevented his reaching the mouth of the Muskegon until Dec. 18, when he found it frozen over. His wonderful endurance and perilous exposures in protecting his employers' interests and preserving the life of his companion in this first test of his quality for command, proved him to have been a born leader, and justify me in giving some of the particulars.

The ice rendering it impossible to ascend the river, they repaired an abandoned trading-house a short distance above its mouth. No Indians had been seen, they being absent at their hunting-grounds, and communication with them was a necessity. Dufrain was dispatched with a package of goods, with the two men under his charge, to seek the Indians, leaving young Hubbard the solitary occupant of their cabin, his only supply of food being a little corn and flour brought from Mackinac. At first he was able to kill a few rabbits and squirrels, but the fall of a deep snow prevented further hunting. Having read of how the Indians caught fish through the ice, he prepared himself as best he could to practise their device, and after

repeated failures, succeeded in acquiring the art, and relieved himself of the danger of starvation. He graphically describes his intense yearning after companionship, the loneliness and horror of his situation, which, coupled with the prospective failure of his first trading adventure and the ridicule he feared he would meet on his return to Mackinac, drove him nearly to distraction. When the thirtieth day had come he resolved to go in search of his absent men, but on that day, to his unspeakable joy, they arrived with a very rich collection of furs. He resolved to start the next day for a camp of Indians, which Dufrain, who was well acquainted with the country, thought they could reach by night. Young Hubbard being unused to walking on snow-shoes, and as traveling in the snow rendered them necessary, Dufrain protested against his going, but the recollection of his former loneliness prevailed, and they started with their packs, leaving one man behind.

The first day was one of intense misery—every few moments he tripped and fell, and could only regain his feet with the aid of his companions—and when they had traveled only six miles he was so exhausted they were forced to camp. The pain was so severe in his strained muscles, he slept but little, and in the morning Dufrain insisted he should return, but his indomitable resolution was unsubdued and they started on. He had caught some of the motions requisite in traveling with snow-shoes, and though suffering intense pain, they made nine miles that day. The next day it snowed, and being warm, the snow stuck to their shoes, retarding their progress and increasing their fatigue, and the third day they camped with nothing to eat. The next day they reached an Indian camp, where they were treated to bear meat and corn soup, and though his feet and ankles were badly swollen, threatening inflammation, they were relieved under the treatment of a kind-hearted squaw.

He at once commenced practising with his snow-shoes, and at the end of five days, when they departed, could keep up with his companions without weariness. One man was sent with a guide to one Indian camp, and Dufrain and Hubbard started in a different direction for another, which Dufrain thought they could reach in one day. The snow was deep and the traveling heavy, and at noon it was evident Dufrain had lost his way. They lay down at night weary and supperless. The storm continued the next day, and though they pressed on, they were certain they were lost. The next day Dufrain became weak and faltering, but about ten o'clock of the fourth day the clouds broke and the sun came out, which enabled them to direct their course for the river, and toward evening they reached the Muskegon, which they forded with the icy water up to their waist, and reached a deserted Indian camp with their clothes thoroughly frozen and shivering with cold.

Collecting wood for a fire, Dufrain found he had lost their flint and steel, and being exhausted, gave up all hope and began crossing himself and saying his prayers in preparation for death. Though this veteran, with years of experience in forest life, was ready without further effort to lie down and die, the spirit of his young companion was unsubdued, and he resolved to continue the fight for existence. Procuring hemlock boughs, he made a bed upon the snow, and placing on it some mats left by the Indians in their camp, he opened both packs and took out all the blankets and woolen clothing, and lying down close together and piling them over their bodies, they soon found the ice began to melt from their clothes and warmth was diffused through their chilled frames, and they soon sank to sleep, from which they did not wake till morning. Though without food for four days, they did not feel hungry, but excessive weariness and exhaustion, and that

tempted them to lie in their warm bed until death relieved them.

The thoughts of his responsibilities and the claims of his widowed mother and of his sisters upon him, aroused young Hubbard to a renewed effort for life. He arose and searched in all directions for a path, which the snow had covered all traces of; observing, however, some broken twigs and feeling the snow around them, he found the path covered by the newly-fallen snow, and following it came to a blazed tree, which indicated the direction of an Indian camp. Returning, he with difficulty aroused Dufrain, and leaving their packs they started, and about noon struck a fresh track, which they followed back, knowing it would lead to a camp. This good fortune did not seem to arouse Dufrain—he was sleepy and inclined to stop and, unperceived, fell behind out of sight—his companion was tempted to leave him and use his fast failing strength in quest of help, but went back and found him asleep upon the snow, and every effort to arouse him having failed, he dug away the snow around him and adding his own blanket to his covering, left him to make a final effort for assistance. He says: "I felt no hunger but was very weak—the perspiration ran from every pore, and at times everything seemed to swim before me with momentary darkness. I seemed almost to faint, still I moved on, reeling like a drunken man. Coming to new tracks and hearing the barking of a dog told me I was nearing a lodge and gave me new strength to advance."

In a few moments he was seated on a bear-skin in a solitary Indian hut, in which was a middle-aged Indian with a bandaged arm, a squaw, and three or four children. After sitting silent for a time, as was the custom, expecting to be invited to eat, he told the squaw he had not eaten for four days and was hungry; she replied they were hungry too, that her husband had broken his arm and

could not hunt; but she took from a sack a little dried corn, and boiling it with water, gave him a small quantity. He sipped a little, but found it difficult to swallow, at which he became frightened, and lay down and fell asleep. After some time he was awakened and given more broth, which he took with avidity and asked for more, which was refused. At short intervals he was awakened and given more until revived.

The Indians knew Dufrain, and he told them of his condition, and the squaw agreed to go with him when the moon arose and help bring him in; she prepared all the corn they had left to take with them. Their son, a youth, had gone out to hunt and returned with a bear cub he had killed, and volunteered to go with him to find Dufrain. Against the protest of the squaw and her husband, though hardly able to walk, he persisted in going, for he knew if alive no one but he could induce him to move. Shortly after midnight they started and when they found him he was apparently lifeless. After great effort he was made to speak, but refused to move and dropped off to sleep again. It required their united efforts to force him to his feet and by short stages get him to the lodge, where they arrived about sunrise. By administering a little corn broth at intervals he revived, but his feet and limbs were so badly swollen they had to cut the coverings to get them off, and the strings of his moccasins had so cut into his toes the blood oozed out through the coverings, and worst of all, he was severely ruptured. It was a week before he could sit up and would evidently be a long time before he could endure the journey home. His companion realizing this with the aid of the Indian boy constructed a sledge on which to carry him if he should elect to go. The country to be traveled over to reach the station was rough and hilly and much of the way covered with thick undergrowth. Though only able to sit up an hour a day,

he chose to go, and they laid him upon the sledge and aided by the boy reached the station in three days, drawing him all the way. Dufrain never left their cabin until carried to a canoe on their departure for Mackinac, which he never reached, having died upon the way.

If in ancient Greece or Rome a youth of his years had exhibited such undaunted courage, such heroic endurance, wisdom, and resources in dangers, and such self-sacrifice at the eminent peril of his own life to save that of his companion, if not deified, his deeds and memory would have been perpetuated in bronze and marble and glorified in historic song. Yet this is only one of the many kindred acts he performed in the seclusion of the dark woods, with only the humble trapper and wild Indian as witnesses.

In the closing year of his apprenticeship he was sent to conduct a trading-station on the Iroquois River in this State. He remained in the employment of the American Fur-Company as superintendent of all the posts on the Iroquois and Kankakee rivers and their tributaries until 1827, having his headquarters near Danville. During this year he was admitted to a share of the profits in the company, and in 1828 he bought out the interests of that company in Illinois, when he removed to Danville, built and run a store until his removal to Chicago in 1834.

On the breaking out of the Winnebago War in 1827, he learned through Shau-be-na that Big Foot, a chief of a tribe of Indians located at Geneva Lake, intended to engage in hostilities against the whites. The soldiers had been removed from Fort Dearborn which left Chicago unprotected. Great alarm prevailed and Mr. Hubbard, who was then at Chicago, in order to meet the threatened attack, left there between four and five o'clock in the afternoon on horseback and taking what was called the Hubbard Trace, reached his Iroquois post at midnight, a distance of more than sixty miles, and there changing his

horse, rode on until stopped by a tree which had fallen across the ford of Sugar Creek. At daylight he swam the stream and at noon reached the house of Peleg Spencer, whom he sent to beat up volunteers to meet at Danville the next evening with five days' rations. At the time appointed one hundred men organized, chose a captain, and started that night for Chicago, and though it rained frequently and hard, on the seventh day he was back with his company of relief. I will quote the encomiums given him by H. W. Beckwith in his account* of this expedition, who says: "I will here say that a better man than Mr. Hubbard could not have been sent to our people; he was well known to all the settlers. His generosity, his quiet and determined courage, and his integrity were so well known and appreciated that he had the confidence and good-will of everybody, and was a well-recognized leader among us pioneers."

On the breaking out of the Black-Hawk War in 1832, he induced Col. Isaac R. Moore, of the Vermilion-County militia, to call out his regiment and march at once to the scene of hostilities, himself furnishing provisions, ammunition, and transportation wagons. Three days after the news of the outbreak was received, they departed and on reaching Joliet built a stockade fort, and leaving a company there, proceeded to the east Dupage, where a similar defence was constructed and garrisoned, and the remainder marched to near Starved Rock, where they were disbanded Mr. Hubbard then joined a company of scouts for sixty days, which was disbanded at the end of that time. At one time he was an aid to Gov. Duncan, from which he derived the title of colonel.

In 1832, he was elected a member of the legislature for Vermilion County, and when it met introduced a bill for the construction of the Illinois-and-Michigan canal which

* "Fergus Historical Series," No. 10, p. 49.

passed the house but was defeated in the senate. He substituted a bill for a railroad, which was defeated in the senate by the casting-vote of the presiding-officer of that body. He attended every session of the legislature after to urge the passage of a bill for the construction of the canal until it passed in 1835–6.

In 1834, he removed his business to Chicago and erected the first large brick-building in the place, on the southwest corner of South-Water and LaSalle streets. In 1836, he sold out his mercantile business and built a warehouse fronting on Kinzie street and the river; embarking in the forwarding-and-commission business, he became interested in a large number of vessels forming the "Eagle Line," employed in the carrying-trade between Buffalo and the upper lakes. In 1835, he was appointed by Gov. Joseph Duncan one of the commissioners of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, and in the location and construction of that great work so eminently promotive of the growth of Chicago he was signally active and efficient. At the celebration of the commencement of the canal, July 4, 1836, he was one deputed to excavate the *first* shovelfuls of earth.

In this year, as agent of the Ætna Fire-Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn., he wrote the first fire-insurance policy ever issued in Chicago. He was a director of the Chicago branch of the State Bank of Illinois. He was one of the incorporators of the old Hydraulic Company whose works, northeast corner Lake-st. and Michigan-ave., supplied the south and part of the west side of the river with water until its works and franchises were purchased by the city in 1852. In 1848, he aided in the organization of the Board of Trade. In connection with A. T. Spencer & Co. he established a line of steamers to Lake Superior, employing the *Lady Elgin*, owned by himself, and several other steamers in which he was part owner. As early as 1831, he brought to Chicago and slaughtered for the garri-

son a drove of hogs, and soon after his removal to Chicago he engaged in packing beef and pork, which he continued on an extensive scale until the destruction of his packing-house by fire in 1863; after which he engaged with others in the direct importation of tea from China; he also had a bonded warehouse more especially for South-American products. The great fire of 1871 destroyed his warehouse and broke up all these interests and so crippled him that he retired from active business.

There are few of the numerous veins of commerce and wealth-producing industries, that draw to this pulsating heart of the great West that boundless agricultural and mineral wealth which through iron arteries and water-craft is distributed to half a world, that have not felt the inspiration of his genius and been quickened by his enterprise and energy. The assertion that in the progress of events, one who has reached the ordinary limit of human life in this age, has lived longer than the oldest antidiluvian is surely verified in the life of Mr. Hubbard. What marvelous transformations he witnessed. When he reached Mackinac at scarce sixteen years of age, save in the vicinity of Detroit, Michigan, the northern part of Indiana and Illinois, all of Wisconsin, and the limitless West that lies beyond, except here and there a trading-post, was an unbroken wilderness, pathless except by lakes and rivers and the narrow trails of the Indian and trapper.

Sixty-eight years have passed, and what a change; it challenges all historic parallel. Before the march of civilization the wild Indian has disappeared or been driven toward the setting sun; the dark forests and prairie garden-fields where he roved in undisputed dominion, have been transformed into harvest-fields, dotted with villages and cities, some of them crowded with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, where the hum of varied industry is never silent and the smoke of forges and factories darkens

the sky. The canoe and open boat have given place to thousand-ton vessels and steamers of twice that burden; the narrow trails over which the Indian trotted his pony are traversed or crossed by roads of iron, on which iron horses rush along with the speed of the wind. This amazing change may be more strikingly realized when we remember that while within the present limits of Cook County there were then only three dwelling-houses of white men outside of the garrison enclosure, there now dwell more than eight hundred thousand people; and that the seat of political power in this great Nation has been transferred to the valley of the Mississippi; that it has made it possible to scale the heights of the Rocky Mountains with railroads, and bring the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans into near neighborhood, and bind the East and West together with bands of steel.

History has made immortal the names and achievements of men who have subdued or founded states and empires by force and sanguinary war. Do not these early pioneers who, armed with the arts of peace, bravely met the dangers and endured the toils necessary to subjugate the great western wilderness for the abodes of peace, with blessings of education, enlightened freedom, and the elevating appliances of civilization, merit equal admiration and gratitude as lasting? Those who believe that in the world's coming history its crowned heroes and benefactors are to be those who win the bloodless victories of peace, and by acts of self-sacrifice and beneficence scatter widest the blessings of Christian civilization, will hold these men, and Gurdon S. Hubbard as a prince among them, in highest honor and esteem.

We turn now to the personal, social, and private life of Mr. Hubbard. While perfection can be claimed for no man, he appears to have borne himself in all the duties pertaining to these relations in a manner deserving com-

mendation and respect. In 1831, he married Miss Eleanor Berry of Ohio, who died a few days after the birth of their son, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Jr., born, Chicago, Feb. 22, 1838. November 9, 1843, he married Miss Mary Ann Hubbard of Chicago, who through the years of his helpless blindness attended upon his every want with the constant devotion of a true and loving wife. In the discharge of his filial and fraternal obligations he set an example of highest admiration. As before stated, during his service with the fur-company he gave $80 a year of his wages of $120 toward the maintenance of his mother and dependent sisters, and afterward, when his income was increased, enlarged their allowance and until his mother died was their main support, which was continued to his sisters down to his death; and to provide against all contingencies, by a deed of trust executed some twenty years ago and also by his last will provided for their support during life.

Socially, he was genial, sympathetic, and affable; his remarkable life and experiences made him interesting and instructive—he was thoroughly careful of the feelings and charitable to the faults of others—firm in his convictions and principles but never intolerant, he was always the dignified and courteous gentleman. As a neighbor he was kind; and as a friend, faithful and confiding. His heart overflowed with sympathy for the poor and unfortunate, and his hand was always open for their relief. As a husband, he was carefully tender, loving, and true; as a parent affectionate, generous, and indulgent. As a citizen, he was patriotic and earnest in the promotion of what he believed for the best interests of his country.

These worthy traits of character are the more remarkable when we remember that his youth and early manhood were spent away from parental restraints, and amid scenes of temptation and influences so adverse to strict morals

and Christian obligations; but the religious principles imbibed from his mother's lips and the schools of those early days seem to have exercised a controlling influence over him. I think it due to him I should give the following extracts from letters of Ramsey Crooks, the active head of the fur-company, and one from Mr. Stuart, the secretary, to his mother. Under date of April, 1820, Mr. Crooks says: "Gurdon has thus far behaved himself in an exemplary manner for one of his age." In a letter of March, 1826, urging Mrs. Hubbard to visit her son, he says: "You will see him at his daily duties, and you will see what will gladden the heart of a Christian mother, how faithfully he performs his daily duties, how much he is loved and respected by his employers and friends." Aug. 3, 1821, Robert Stuart writes her: "He spends his winters with an old gentleman of finished education and correct, gentlemanly manners. His account of your son is as flattering as a fond mother could wish. * * He is strictly sober and I believe a great economist; I feel that I state the truth when I tell you I think him exempt from the vices which too frequently attend youth of his age." These commendations speak for themselves.

In his church associations he was an Episcopalian. He was one of those who organized St. James' Episcopal Church, the first of that denomination existing in Chicago and of which he subsequently became a communicant.

In January, 1883, he was taken with chills, and in the following May lost the sight of his left eye, from which time he suffered from blood-poisoning and frequent abscesses, and from almost constant pains in his eyes and neck. In the succeeding April, the eye was removed, and though eighty-two years old, without an anesthetic of any kind or any one to hold his hands, the steady nerve and self-control that so distinguished him in his earlier years enabled him simply to lie down and have his eye cut out.

In July, 1885, the sight of his remaining eye was extinguished, leaving him in the horrors of total darkness. About one year ago his remaining eye was also removed, greatly relieving him from torturing pains.

Such a calamity and rayless darkness can neither be imagined or described. But in him the fruits of the discipline of suffering were beautifully exhibited in uncomplaining submission to the divine will and patient endurance of his affliction through all the long night of his blindness; in his grateful sense of the sympathy of friends and tender thankfulness for the helpful care and attentions of his loved ones. It was manifest that while material things were excluded from his sight, his nature was more fully conformed and assimilated to that of his Divine Redeemer by the contemplation of the spiritual and unseen; and on Sept. 14, 1886, at the age of eighty-four years, he fell peacefully to sleep, with the full assurance he would awaken into supernal light with restored and immortal vision.

It is to be hoped his friends will at no distant day have a life of Mr. Hubbard prepared and published. It is not only due to his memory, but the truth of history, for the history of Chicago and the Northwest can never be fully written without it; and if properly prepared it will be found more interesting than a romance.

From a Photo. by Alex. Hesler, March, 1881. Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

Isaac N. Arnold

Nov. 13, 1813—April 24, 1884.

ISAAC N. ARNOLD,

A Settler of Chicago in 1836.

By Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE.

ISAAC NEWTON ARNOLD, president of the Chicago Historical Society, died at his residence in Chicago, April 24, 1884. At the first meeting of the Society after his death, May 20, 1884, the following resolution, offered by Judge Skinner, was adopted:

Resolved, That Hon. E. B. Washburne be requested to prepare and deliver before this Society, at his convenience, a Memorial Address, commemorative of the life and character of the late Hon. Isaac N. Arnold.

Before the adjournment, Mr. Washburne, the acting-president of the Society, said:

"I am certain that all the members of the Chicago Historical Society, and all others present, will have heard with emotion the resolution in respect to our late President, first presented by Judge Mark Skinner.

"The Society has met with a great and almost irreparable loss in the death of Mr. Arnold. Long identified with it, giving to it his attention and his services, he has done much to elevate its character and increase its usefulness. We can never forget with what courtesy and dignity he presided at our meetings. Dying, as it were, in the harness, he has left us the recollection of an honest man, a cultivated gentleman, a good citizen, and an honored public servant. At some time in the future, the Society will pay appropriate honors to his memory."

A regular monthly meeting of the Society was held at its rooms, 142 Dearborn Avenue, Tuesday even-

ing, October 21, 1884. After the disposal of the preliminary business, Mr. Washburne delivered the following Address:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The Chicago Historical Society has been called upon to mourn the death of our esteemed and distinguished associate, Hon. Isaac Newton Arnold, its late president.

On the evening of May 20, 1884, the Society passed the following resolution, introduced by our honored friend and fellow-member, Judge Skinner, the contemporary and almost life-long friend of Mr. Arnold:

Resolved, That in the removal by death of Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, the Chicago Historical Society mourns the loss of one of its original founders, of one of its most active, efficient, and reliable members, and its honored and greatly-respected president. During all the active years of a long and well-spent life, Mr. Arnold had been a citizen of Chicago, contributing by his indefatigable industry, his unimpeachable intregrity, his patriotism, his public spirit, his rare abilities, his great acquirements, his spotless moral character, his high social qualifications, and his instincts as a thorough gentleman to give lustre to the city of his residence and to the generation to which he belonged; a successful lawyer that stood in the front rank of his profession; a cautious, far-seeing, and wise legislator, distinguishing himself in the halls of legislation, National as well as State; a successful public speaker and a writer of great power and wide-spread popularity, he has left to the generations that succeed him the legacy of a noble example and a good name.

At the same meeting, another resolution was passed requesting me to deliver before the Society a "Memorial Address commemorative of the Life and Character of

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold." It would have been well if that could have been confided to some older resident of Chicago, and one better able to do justice to the memory of Mr. Arnold. I overcome my hesitation, however, when I consider the opportunity it gives me of appreciating the character of a man to whom I was allied by so many ties of friendship and whom I held in highest esteem for his private and public virtues, for his ability, his statesmanship, and his patriotism.

At the threshhold of my remarks, I may perhaps be pardoned for recalling an incident which took place a few months prior to Mr. Arnold's death. About Christmas time, 1883, he sent me an elegantly-bound copy of the "Proceedings of the Royal Historical Society," which contained his admirable paper on Mr. Lincoln, and which, on the invitation of the Society, he went to London to read. In a letter written on December 20, last, I acknowledged the receipt of the address, and said:

"I have re-read your paper with renewed interest, one of the most complete and most polished productions that I now recall to mind. The simple and eloquent story of Mr. Lincoln's life awakens in me some of the most pleasant as well as some of the saddest memories of that remarkable man. You know what answer Queen Katherine made to Griffith after his eulogy on Cardinal Wolsey. I would say with her, substituting Arnold for Griffith:

> "After my death, I wish no other herald,
> No speaker of my living actions,
> To keep mine honor from corruption,
> But such an honest chronicler as Griffith."

In answering my note on December 20, Mr. Arnold said:

"How strange, as I write, Lincoln's Shakespeare, given me by Mrs. Lincoln and Robert, with his autograph, lies

before me; the book which so familiarized him with the great poet. You, his friend and co-laborer, quote from it. I can only promise in reference to him that I shall try to be like Griffith, 'an honest chronicler'. But I have this great advantage: Wolsey's character was made up of good and evil, and although he was

> 'A scholar, and a ripe and good one,'

yet he had his faults; but of Lincoln,

> 'All the ends he aimed at were his Country's, God's, and Truth's.'

And so the 'honest chronicler' has but the simple truth to tell.

"You are younger than I, and in the course of nature will survive me. Whoever goes first, the survivor will speak some kind words."

Mr. Arnold has preceded me to that undiscovered country from whence no traveler returns. On April 24, 1884, in peace with himself and all the world, at his residence in this city, surrounded by his sorrowing family, he died, fearing God. Surviving him, and with a heart filled with sadness, it now comes to me in this presence, to "speak some kind words" of my friend and our late president.

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold was born Nov. 13, 1813, in the town of Hartwick, Otsego Co., N. Y. His father was a country physician, who while conscientiously attending to the demands of his profession added something to his limited income by cultivating a small farm in a town where all the people were devoted to agriculture. In that beautiful county of Otsego, with its picturesque scenery, its clear and limpid lakes, and its extensive forests, amid a population made up of the best type of the American character, Mr. Arnold first saw the light of day. It was in that comparative solitude that he drew

his earliest inspirations and laid the foundations, deep and broad, of that future life, distinguished for so much honor and illustrated by so many virtues. Thrown upon his own resources at an early age, he became the architect of his own fortune, and has furnished an example to the young men of the present day, who can see in his career that the pathway to greatness and usefulness is open to all who enter upon it in a spirit of loyal devotion to the great objects of life.

Having prepared himself for the study of law, he first commenced his studies under Richard Cooper of Cooperstown, N. Y., and afterward continued them in the office of Judge E. B. Morehouse of the same place, until he was admitted to the bar in 1835, at the age of twenty-one years.

Taking up his residence in Chicago in 1836, his career from that time was one of honorable success; and at the time of his death no citizen of Chicago was more widely known and more highly respected and esteemed than was Mr. Arnold. The story of his professional life must be told by some one of his associates at the bar who had personal knowledge of his ability as a lawyer and of the distinction he acquired in the practice of his chosen profession.

Interested always in questions of great public interest, he often stepped outside the limits of his profession to make himself heard and his influence felt. When the question of the repudiation of the State debt arose, as was natural for a man of his stamp, Mr. Arnold revolted against the proposition, and gave the influence of his high character and great ability to sustain the public faith. He made himself known to the people by voice and pen in his efforts to sustain the honor of the State and to have the people stamp out the dishonorable but insidious proposition to repudiate the public debt.

In the session of the legislature of 1842–3, Mr. Arnold rendered a great and inestimable service to the State in carrying through that Canal-Bill which laid the foundation of our State credit and which contributed so much to make Illinois what it is to-day, the pride of all its loyal sons and the admiration of our country and the world. On all questions of good-faith and public morality, Mr. Arnold was always on the right side; and for the conspicuous service he rendered the State and the cause of honesty, both in public and in private life, in a most critical period of our history, his memory deserves to be always honored by every citizen of Illinois.

As we all knew him, Mr. Arnold was a man of great independence of character, thought, and action. Making up his mind as to what was *right*, he always acted up to his convictions. He never pandered to low tastes or popular prejudices. There was not the slightest tinge of the demagogue in all his composition. The quotation from Horace, made by Morris Birkbeck for the encouragement of Gov. Coles during the great slavery-struggle in 1823–4, when that great and good man was so fiercely assailed by all the worst elements in the State for his efforts to prevent slavery from defiling the soil of Illinois, might be applied to Mr. Arnold with great force:

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solida." *

I now approach that portion of Mr. Arnold's life and career with which I was most familiar and in which I have always had the greatest interest. At the same election that Mr. Lincoln was elected president, in 1860,

* "Neither the ardor of citizens ordering base things, nor the face of the threatening tyrant, shakes a man just and tenacious of principle from his firm intentions."

Mr. Arnold was elected a representative in the thirty-seventh congress from the Chicago district. I had known him before as a gentleman and a lawyer, meeting him frequently at the sessions of the supreme court at Springfield and Ottawa. That congress met in extra session on the Fourth of July, 1861. Its meeting was one of the most momentous events ever recorded in the history of our country. President Lincoln, great, magnanimous, peaceful, patriotic, just, had made every effort consistent with his duty and his oath to support the constitution and enforce the laws, to bring the rebellious states back to their allegiance. The rebels, lawless, defiant, aggressive, had spurned every proposition that might lead to an understanding between the sections. Therefore, it was that at the opening of this congress, Mr. Lincoln's administration was confronted by an open rebellion. Blood had been shed and the flames of a civil war had been lighted in the country. It was under such circumstances Mr. Lincoln had convened congress in extra session. The members of the senate and house of representatives met under this call for an extra session under a weight of responsibility which has rarely rested upon public men.

At such a crisis men became naturally allied to each other. Intelligent, patriotic, courageous, firm of purpose, and of undying loyalty, Mr. Arnold took his seat in that celebrated congress and then commenced an intimacy and friendship between us, existing unbroken to the day of his death. The president and Mr. Arnold had known each other long and well. They had been associated as lawyers in the trial of causes and had been opposite counsel in important litigation. This long association at the bar had made them to know one another well, and had engendered mutual respect and mutual regard. Mr. Lincoln hailed the election to congress of Mr. Arnold with pleasure, for in him he saw the faithful friend, the

wise counsellor, and the loyal and patriotic citizen. And hence it was, during all his administration, that he gave to him his fullest confidence and extended to him so many evidences of the high regard in which he held him.

Though a new member, the consideration in which Mr. Arnold was held by his colleagues was shown by the unanimous request made to him that he should pronounce the eulogy in the house on behalf of Illinois on the occasion of the death of Stephen A. Douglas. His address was a glowing and merited tribute to the memory of that distinguished man. Trained in the arts of legislation by his service in the Illinois legislature, conscious of his own ability and capacity, Mr. Arnold participated at once in the business of the house. On July 29, he entered into the discussion of the Internal-Revenue Bill, and in a short and apt speech which convinced the house of his ability as a debator, and what was to be his usefulness as a legislator.

The regular session of the thirty-seventh congress met on Monday, December 21, 1861. The country had then been plunged into all the horrors of a bloody civil war, and the loyal people looked forward to the opening of this regular session of congress with the most intense interest. Mr. Arnold appeared and took his seat. He had felt his way somewhat cautiously in the extra session, but now he believed himself equal to taking a more prominent part in the legislation of the house. He participated in the discussion of nearly all the important questions which came up for action, and he soon took rank as one of the ablest members of the body.

I was in the house of representatives for sixteen years, and during the most important epoch of our country's history and at a time when so many of the ablest men of the Nation were members of the house of representatives, and was in a position to estimate and judge of men;

and I can conscientiously say that I consider that Mr. Arnold was one of the ablest, the most useful, and most conscientious members with whom I was associated. Always at his post in the house and in the committee-room, he shunned no labor nor left any duty unperformed. He studied all questions and weighed all the arguments, *pro* and *con*, on every subject on which he was called upon to act. And then in deportment and bearing he was what every public man should be, amiable, courteous, affable, polite, and always a gentleman, making himself esteemed and respected by all who had the good fortune to know him. I have sometimes thought that Chicago never did full justice to its congressmen in those two celebrated congresses during the war. In the excitement of the time and the whirl of events, men were often lost sight of. Mr. Arnold never dazzled by brilliant speeches, made for effect and to gain popular applause and cheap glory, but he devoted himself rather to the serious subjects of legislation with assiduity and intelligence. The *Congressional Globe*, during his term of service, is an enduring monument to his great and useful labors, and that will remain as long as this Republic shall endure.

In all matters of local importance before the congress, as in all matters in which his constituents were interested, either in the departments or in congress, Mr. Arnold was especially active and efficient. He gave the Ship-Canal Bill a warm support, and his speech on the subject was one of the ablest which was made.

Coming from good old Revolutionary and Rhode-Island stock, born and bred among the freedom-loving people of Northern New York, it could hardly have been otherwise than that Mr. Arnold should have imbibed the strongest feelings of hostility to human slavery. Through all his political associations, neither his opinions nor actions on that subject ever changed. He always acted

with the anti-slavery men wherever he found them, and when slavery raised the standard of rebellion against the government, he took the most radical ground on the subject. He voted for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and as early as March, 1862, he introduced a bill, sweeping in its provisions, to prohibit slavery in every place subject to national jurisdiction. This bill was stoutly resisted, but Mr. Arnold pressed it with ability and persistence, and after some amendments, it became a law, June 19, 1862. He made a speech in the house on this bill, May 19, 1862, and from a man of his naturally calm and conservative temperament, it was not only very able, but very radical and aggressive. He denounced slavery as a monster attempting to destroy a government which it had so long controlled. He said no man who loved his country and the constitution could hold any other position toward it than one of hostility, and that every effort should be made to weaken and destroy it. "Whenever we can give it a constitutional blow," he exclaimed, "*let us do it.*" And it may be said to his honor, few men in congress, or out of congress, dealt harder blows at the institution than he did.

The ablest and most notable speech that Mr. Arnold made while a member of congress was that on the bill to confiscate rebel property, made May 2, 1862. After passing in review the wickedness of the rebellion, and the inhuman manner in which the rebels had conducted the war, and the necessity of prompt and vigorous action, he addressed himself to the legal questions involved, in an argument of great ability and research, and which challenged the attention of the lawyers of the house. He was an able lawyer, and legal questions to which he gave his attention he treated with conspicuous ability and with a felicity of language quite rare in the discussion of points of law.

From the high standing of Mr. Arnold in the house, and the advanced position he occupied on the slavery question, it was fitting and proper that he should take the initiative in a great measure of legislation with which his name will ever be honorably associated, and which was the foundation of an enactment of more transcendent importance than any which ever adorned the statute-book of any nation.

On February 15, 1864, Mr. Arnold introduced into the house of representatives a resolution, which was passed, declaring that the constitution should be so amended as to ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES. This was the *first step* ever taken by congress in favor of the abolition and prevention of slavery in the country. The ball was set in motion—the popular branch of congress had made a solemn declaration which sent a throb of joy and hope to the heart of every lover of human freedom. The senate was then so constituted that the two-thirds' majority, necessary to submit a constitutional amendment, was easily obtainable. The house having led the way by passing the declaratory resolution of Mr. Arnold in favor of a constitutional amendment, the senate passed the resolution April 8, 1864. But it failed to pass the house at that session, and it was not until the next session, on February 1, 1865, that the two-third majority was obtained in the house, and in the homely language of Mr. Lincoln, "*The job finished.*"

In the debate in the house, Mr. Arnold made a passionate appeal for the passage of the joint-resolution. Warming up in his remarks, and in a tone of true eloquence, he exclaimed: "In view of the long catalogue of wrongs that slavery has inflicted upon the country, I demand today of the congress of the United States, the death of slavery. We can have no permanent peace while slavery lives. It now reels and staggers in its last

death-struggle. Let us strike the monster this last decisive blow. Pass this joint-resolution," he continued, "and the thirty-eighth congress will live in history as that which consummated the great work of freeing a continent from the curse of human bondage. The great spectacle of this vote which knocks off the fetters of a whole race, will make the scene immortal." And further on he continued: "I mean to fight this cause of the war—this cause of all the expenditure of blood and treasure from which my country is now suffering; this institution which has filled our whole land with sorrow, desolation, and anguish. I mean to fight it until neither on the statute-book nor in the constitution shall there be left a single sentence or word which can be construed to sustain the stupendous wrong. * * * Let us now, in the name of liberty, of justice, of God, consummate this grand revolution. Let us now make our country *the home of the free.*"

No member of the house of representatives who was present when this resolution passed can ever forget that scene. Mr. Arnold was full of rejoicing. In a graphic, racy, and interesting paper, entitled "Reminiscences of Lincoln and of Congress during the Rebellion," read by him in July, 1882, before the New-York Geneological and Biographical Society, he gave an account, among other things, of the passage by congress of the "joint-resolution to submit to the states the amendment to the constitution abolishing slavery." After seeing the great work, so near to his heart, accomplished, he tells of the steps he took to obtain certain souvenirs conected with the legislation. When the resolution had been engrossed he procured an exact duplicate of the original, which was to go on file in the department of state, and to that obtained the signatures of all the members of both houses who had voted for it, to be treasured up as a memento of

the occasion; and with sadness he tells the story of the Chicago Fire, which consumed that and so many other treasures. Profiting from his inspiration in this regard, I followed his example and procured precisely the same thing for myself; and looking at the names of all the members of both houses, in their own proper handwriting, who voted for the resolution, there will be seen the name of Isaac N. Arnold, written in his own bold, clear hand. Now that he has passed away I never look upon it without emotion.

It is impossible in the limits of this paper to do full justice to Mr. Arnold's congressional record. The *Congressional Globe* shows with what zeal and ability he entered into the business of the house, and what light he shed on all subjects to which he gave his attention. He went to congress to serve the country in its hour of peril and not for the objects of an unworthy ambition. His colleague and his friend, I know how conscientiously and laboriously, how honestly and ably he discharged his every duty. To those who knew him it goes without saying, that he was thoroughly incorruptible. There was never a lobyist or corruptionist bold enough to approach him with even the slightest suggestion as to any action on his part favoring any object for private gain, and not for the public good. Such was his high character, his incorruptible integrity, and his elevated code of morals, that no man ever dared to approach him with an improper suggestion in respect of his official action.

Mr. Arnold's congressional career ended with the thirty-eighth congress, March 3, 1865. During his whole term of service, not only from a sense of duty, but from his high personal regard for the president, he had given the administration of Mr. Lincoln a loyal, able, and an efficient support. It was a matter of great regret and disappointment to that distinguished man, as well as

to all of his colleagues, that he did not return to congress. He had served his country and his constituents so faithfully and with such marked ability that he had challenged the respect and confidence of all familiar with his public career. On his return to his home in Chicago, at the adjournment of the long session of congress in July, 1864, he was tendered a magnificent reception, and a vote was passed, giving to him the thanks of the meeting for the able and valuable services he had rendered his country and his constituents in congress. While not a candidate for re-election in 1864, he entered into the canvass for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln with great spirit, and his voice was heard in many states urging the people to sustain him in the great work of suppressing the rebellion.

After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Arnold being then already engaged in writing a "History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery in the United States," he accepted the appointment from President Johnson of auditor of the treasury for the post-office department, as a residence in Washington afforded him a more ready access to documents necessary for him to have in preparing his work. Subsequently, differing with President Johnson in respect of the policy he had adopted, he resigned the office which he had received at his hands. Returning to his home in Chicago in 1867, he completed his "History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery." He brought to the preparation of that work the qualities of an able and conscientious historian, who wrote very largely from personal knowledge and personal observation. His long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln had given him a thorough knowledge of his character and his mode of thought and action. As a member of that congress for four years during the war, and which had accomplished such prodigies for the country, he was from his own participation in it enabled to speak with authority.

I have recently read again this work and am more impressed than ever with it as a work of surpassing interest and of exceptional historical value. Nowhere else can be found a more just appreciation of Mr. Lincoln and a more graphic and truthful recital of events then transpiring in congress and on the theatre of military and political action throughout the country. Important and interesting facts are to be obtained therein which are not to be found elsewhere.

Resuming his law-practice in Chicago in 1872, Mr. Arnold continued actively in his profession for two or three years, when failing health compelled him to abandon it. From that time till his death, he lived the life of a retired gentleman in his pleasant home on the north-side, among his books and papers, where, surrounded by his interesting and amiable family and congenial friends, he dispensed an elegant and gracious hospitality. It was then he found leisure to devote himself to favorite literary pursuits. With an inclination for historic research, with that power of analysis which a long practice at the bar had given him, and with a rare felicity of composition, he devoted himself to historic themes.

It was in 1880 that Mr. Arnold brought out his "Life of Benedict Arnold — his Patriotism and his Treason," a most comely volume of more than four hundred pages. The book has been extensively read in the most intelligent circles. While it provoked a certain measure of criticism in some quarters, yet it was generally commended for the ability, fairness, and independence shown by the author. It was perhaps a bold undertaking to write the life of a man whose name and memory were so loaded down with infamy as were those of Benedict Arnold. But the author frankly tells us in his introduction what led him to undertake to tell the story of Benedict Arnold's life, truthfully and impartially. He was

conscious of the deep and universal prejudice existing against him, and was aware that the American people would listen with impatience to his narrative. He had no desire to change the indignation and resentment felt against him, nor could he either excuse or extenuate his guilt. He wished "to make known his patriotic services, his sufferings, heroism, and the wrongs which drove him to a desperate action and induced one of the most heroic men of an heroic age to perpetrate an unpardonable crime." Influenced by such considerations, and responsible only to himself for his opinions and judgments, Mr. Arnold did not hesitate to write the "Life of Benedict Arnold." It is the province of history to record facts, to pursue investigations, and narrate circumstances without regard to the characters of individuals. To sum up, Mr. Arnold has given to the world a book of exceptional historic value, and for which all the lovers of biography and students of the history of our Revolution must be grateful.

It is not the first time that there has been written the life of a man who has been set up in the "pillory of history." Dr. Robinet never lost anything in the estimation of the French people by writing the memoirs of Danton, nor Ernest Hamel for his history of Robespierre, nor Alfred Bougeart by his life the monster Marat. Everywhere, Mr. Arnold has added to his reputation among literary, thoughtful, and reading men, by his "Life of Benedict Arnold." In the somewhat-heated controversy which arose over the question of Gen. Arnold's military services, the historian fully vindicated the positions he had taken, for no man was more successful in marshalling facts or in presenting deductions from established premises.

But the great work of Mr. Arnold's life, and upon which his reputation as a biographer and historian must

rest, is his "Life of Abraham Lincoln," now in course of publication. His "History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery," though an able, valuable, and interesting work, was never entirely satisfactory to the author, so far as it treated Mr. Lincoln. He determined, therefore, two years since, to write anew the "Life of Abraham Lincoln," in the light of all the new material he had gathered. Stimulated by his admiration and friendship for that illustrious man, he devoted himself to the preparation of a life of one of the greatest men who ever "lived in the tide of time"—a man whose name is on all our lips and whose memory is in all our hearts—Abraham Lincoln. He entered upon the work *con amore*, and devoted to it all his efforts and all his thoughts. The preparation of the work occupied all his time and absorbed all his attention. So closely did he pursue his labors, and so intently were his thoughts occupied thereon, that his health, at no time rugged, within the last few years, began perceptibly to give way. Still he persevered, and still he labored on, till the last chapter was finished, and the last finishing touches given. Never shall I forget the last interview I had with him only a few days before he died, as he lay pallid and emaciated on his bed of death. Knowing all the interest I had felt in his book, he began to speak of it in feeble and even plaintive tones, and closed by saying: "It was only when I had completed the last chapter that I collapsed." And so it was, strengthened and buoyed up in his purpose to complete the great work of his life, when the task was finished, he laid down to die. The hour of his earthly existence had come finally to strike. Neither the prayers of wife and children, who did so much to sooth the pangs of his parting life, nor all their love, care, and devotion; neither the hopes of friends, nor the skill of physicians could stay the hand of death. His work was done, and peacefully

and calmly and in Christian resignation he yielded up his soul to the God who gave it.

Mr. Arnold's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," enriched by a captivating style, carefully studied and drawn from the most reliable sources of information, will become the standard life of a man whose name, linked in glory to that of Washington, will go down to the end of all the ages.

Of an active mind, taking an interest in all passing events, Mr. Arnold always found some subject to occupy his attention and engage his pen. Independent of the books he had written and published, he was the author of a great number of sketches, papers, biographies, and reviews, many of which have been published, and all of them are interesting and valuable in a personal and historical point of view. Associated for half a century with Illinois, and having been long and honorably identified with the State, he was always interested in all that appertained to our history and our public men. As a member of the legal profession, and as a man in public life, he was closely allied to many of the lawyers and judges, and to many men in official stations in the State, and he was never happier than when recounting the reminiscences of his earlier professional and political life.

To everything he undertook, Mr. Arnold brought the qualities of a ripe intelligence, great vigor, and a sound judgment. When at an age when most men rest, he was pursuing to its legitimate honors and rewards the career of a man of letters and of a historian. Of the productions of Mr. Arnold's busy and gifted pen which have been published in pamphlet form, I may mention:

1. His "Address before the Chicago Historical Society" of Nov, 9, 1868, giving a history of the Society, etc.

2. "Sketch of Col. John H. Kinzie": read before the Chicago Historical Society, July 11, 1877.

3. "Recollections of the Early Chicago and Illinois Bar": a lecture before the Chicago Bar Association, June 10, 1880.

4. "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago": read before the Bar Association of the State of Illinois, at Springfield, Jan. 7, 1881.

5. A paper on "Abraham Lincoln": read before the Royal Historical Society in London, June 16, 1881.

6. A Paper on "William B. Ogden": read before the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 20, 1881, on the presentation of a portrait of Mr. Ogden, by Healy, to the Historical Society.

7. "Reminiscences of Lincoln and of Congress during the Rebellion": being the anniversary address, delivered before the New-York Geneological and Biographical Society, April 15, 1882.

8. "Benedict Arnold at Saratoga": reprinted from the "United Service." "Reply to John Austin Stevens, and new evidence of Mr. Bancroft's error."

9. A Paper on "James Fenimore Cooper": read in 1883 before the Chicago Literary Society.

10. Letter of Isaac N. Arnold to Bishop Clarkson: "Was Dr. De Koven legally elected Bishop of Illinois?"

11. A Paper read before the Chicago Philosophical Society, Dec. 10, 1883, entitled, "The Layman's Faith."

Mr. Arnold has been one of the founders of the Chicago Historical Society, and served many years as one of its vice-presidents. On Dec. 19, 1876, he was elected president, and held the position uninterruptedly until the day of his death—a period of about seven and one-half years. So long identified with the Society, and giving to it his attention and services, he did much to elevate its character and add to its usefulness. We can never forget the regularity of his attendance upon all the meetings of the Society, his watchful care over all its interests, nor the

dignity and courtesy with which he presided over our deliberations.

With an intellectual and finely-chiseled face, of an erect and well-formed person, of quiet and gentlemanly manners, and courteous carriage and bearing, Mr. Arnold was a man who always attracted attention. He was the soul of probity and honor. Neither the purity of his private life, nor the integrity of his public conduct was ever challenged: but in every position of life he stood before the world as an honest man, a cultivated gentleman, a good citizen, and a public servant without reproach. Those of us who have known him so well in this Society and in the daily walks of his life and conversation, will always guard for him a profound souvenir of respect and affection.

Husband, father, friend, neighbor, citizen—his ashes repose on the shores of that lake where he had passed a long and an honored life, and its waves shall forever sing his *requiem.*

TRIBUTE OF HON. THOMAS DRUMMOND.

Mr. PRESIDENT:—I propose only to make a few general remarks, leaving details to others.

When Mr. Arnold came to Chicago in 1836, if some one had asked what were the qualities which would make him one of the principal men who would form and influence the elements of the growth of a great city, he would have said: that as a professional man, he must be able and true to his clients; as a public man, conscientious and faithful in the discharge of all trusts committed to his hands; and as a citizen, honorable in all the relations which attach to that name. Mr. Arnold in his life, from that time, when tried in these various positions, proved that he possessed

all these qualities, and he was thus one of the leading men of the city, whose influence was always exerted for good.

By his talents, and industry, fidelity, and conscious that success was with him a necessity—for it is not those who have, but those who gain a competence who achieve great distinction at the bar—he became one of the most eminent lawyers of the city and of the State. No man ever had his heart more in his cause, or more fully bent every faculty of his mind to succeed.

As a public man, the sphere of his usefulness was greatly enlarged. He, as a member of the legislature and as a citizen, made the most strenuous efforts and exhibited great ability in his arguments and speeches to maintain the honor of the State in its dealings with its creditors. As a member of congress, he gave the whole energy of his mind and heart to sustain the administration of Lincoln; to uphold the rights of man; to destroy slavery; and to preserve and consolidate the union of these States. We, who were acquainted with him in those trying days, know with how much devotion he sought to accomplish these great objects. A warm personal friend of Lincoln, he was one of his most trusted counsellors and advisers.

It would be difficult to overrate the value of his services which he rendered to his State and the Nation while in public life.

As a man and a citizen, his influence and efforts were always exerted in favor of sound moral and good government. When we look back to the condition of affairs that existed here nearly fifty years ago, we can appreciate the effect produced on professional, social, and political life by the character, habits, and conduct of Mr. Arnold, and can say, as the influence of a man so conspicuous is all-pervading, that the world is better for the life of such a man.

Is is fitting, therefore, that there should be placed on record, and especially in this Society, in which he took so

deep an interest, and of which he was so long the presiding officer, an enduring memorial of the estimate which has been formed of his life and public services by his contemporaries, in order that those who come after us here may know that he, of whom we now speak, was, in our judgment, thus of record, an eminent lawyer, a true patriot, and an honorable citizen.

TRIBUTE OF HON. VANH. HIGGINS.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I feel great distrust and diffidence in my ability to say what I think ought to be said of the honored deceased, whom I had known since his early manhood, now more than forty years, and with whom I had been on terms of great intimacy and friendship for more than thirty years. I am proud of that intimacy and friendship. I am proud of his record as a man and as an honored citizen of Chicago, and I am grateful for the example of his life and character. We owe a tribute of respect to the late Isaac N. Arnold, who devoted the best energies of his whole life to objects of benevolence and to the advancement of the cause of human freedom. His patriotism and devotion to the cause of the Union and its preservation were untiring and ceaseless. In congress and out of congress, he was ever active and zealous, watchful and constant. In the beginning of the great struggle for the preservation of our national existence, Isaac N. Arnold was foremost in all that could be done to preserve and perpetuate this Union. Chicago had no truer patriot, no better friend of the enslaved negro, no more sympathizing friend of the wretched and suffering everywhere and at all times, than Isaac N. Arnold. Although I had known him in all the relations of life, socially, politically, and professionally, I am here to speak only of his professional life, and of

Isaac N. Arnold as a lawyer. Other friends more eloquent will speak, I am sure, of the usefulness of the life of the deceased, of the beauty and loveliness of his general character, which, during a long lifetime, so gained and held our love and affection. They will speak of him in the domestic relations of his life, as a trusty friend, a faithful husband, a kind father; as a distinguished and honored citizen; as a true gentleman, pure and spotless in all things, and in all the relations of life. They will tell of his philanthropy. Isaac N. Arnold was from his youth a philanthropist. He was the friend of enslaved and wretched bondsmen. He consecrated his best energies during his whole life to the emancipation of the poor slave, one of the noblest objects within the range of human benevolence. It was in the cause and interest of the poor slave that his heart swelled with more tenderness and his purse was open more freely than in any other. They will speak of his great and untiring efforts in his early manhood in originating and organizing the Free-soil party of the United States. They will speak of patriotic, unselfish, and untiring devotion to the Union cause during our late struggle, and of his active, constant, zealous, watchful care of the public interests and the public trusts confided to him; of his eminent and useful services throughout a long life, and of him as a citizen of whom Chicago has always been proud.

I will not attempt to speak of the honored deceased save of him in his professional character as an advocate and as a lawyer. Mr. Arnold, in his early life, was not favored by fortune. He had not the advantages of a collegiate education. He had only such opportunities as were afforded by the country-schools and village academy. These he improved to such an extent as to fully prepare him for the prominent positions which he afterward occupied during his life, and which he filled so creditably to himself and so

satisfactorily to his friends. At the early age of fifteen years, young Arnold found himself thrown upon his own resources, and from that time began the struggle of life for success and for future usefulness. He was emphatically "the artist of his own fortune." From seventeen to twenty, he occupied his time in teaching half the year, to enable him to pursue his studies the other half. He divided his time during this period between academic study, teaching, and reading law. During this period he entered the law-office of Richard Cooper of Cooperstown, N. Y. He subsequently became a student in the office of Judge E. B. Morehouse. In 1835, when he had scarcely attained his majority, he was admitted to the Supreme Court of New York. He immediately thereafter formed a partnership with Judge Morehouse, which continued until his removal to Chicago. In 1837, he formed a partnership with Mahlon D. Ogden of this city, which continued for several years, building up a large and lucrative business. While a member of that firm in 1841, Mr. Arnold, being then only twenty-seven years of age, commenced and carried through to a successful termination, unaided and alone, the celebrated case of Bronson *vs.* Kinzie, which was finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States in the winter of 1842. I mention this case because of its being a leading case in this country, among its celebrated cases, and because of its involving grave constitutional questions which Mr. Arnold was able to grapple with at that youthful period of his life, arguing this case at twenty-seven years of age in the highest court in the world, and contending against the ablest lawyers in the Nation. It demonstrates the learning and capacity, the courage and fixedness of purpose of the young lawyer more satisfactorily than any words of eulogy.

Mr. Arnold was more than a powerful and successful advocate and trial-lawyer. He was a learned lawyer—a

jurist, in the just sense of that term. For more than thirty years Mr. Arnold stood at the head of the Chicago bar. As a *nisi-prius* or trial-lawyer there was scarcely his equal in the State; probably it can truthfully be said that he was one of the most successful, ingenious, and powerful jury-lawyers in the Western country. The records of the various courts, State and Federal, show Mr. Arnold to have had an extensive and varied practice. Few lawyers in this or any other city have had a greater number of cases before the courts that Mr. Arnold, and these cases were generally of great importance, and involved the most varied learning, and called for the application of the most intricate and abstruse questions of law. For a time, Mr. Arnold made a specialty of criminal practice, and such was his success for many years that no man defended by him was ever convicted. His first important criminal case was the trial of a negro named Davit, who was accused of murdering his brother. Mr. Arnold being satisfied of his innocence, volunteered to defend him, and procured his acquittal. Among other noted criminal cases in which he appeared as counsel, that of Taylor Driscoll, charged with the murder of John Campbell, the leader of a band of "regulators" in Ogle County, Ill., is perhaps the most noted. He defended many other persons charged with murder in this and other counties, and, except in the case of Geo. W. Green, in this city, in 1854, who committed suicide before the final trial, it is believed he was successful in every instance,

There is no one of the older members of the Chicago bar but will accord to Mr. Arnold the credit of having been one of the best trial-lawyers that ever belonged to the Chicago bar. Mr. Arnold attained in life and in his profession all that an honorable and well-ordered ambition could hope for. He attained great eminence and distinction in his profession and as a citizen. He acquired a competency,

and his later years found him enjoying the comforts which wealth brings. He was a marked and conspicuous figure in the growth and development of our city, and his name will long be remembered as one of the originators and members and as the president of this Society, and as being connected with nearly every enterprise of benevolence, culture, refinement, and growth developed in our city since he has been among us.

I may say of him as a lawyer and as a citizen, in the language of Edmund Burke: "In all the qualities in which personal merit has a place, in culture, in erudition, in genius, in honor, in generosity, in humanity, in every sentiment and every liberal accomplishment, he was the peer of any man."

Hon. Wm. F. DeWolf, then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Chicago Historical Society be and are hereby presented to Hon. E. B. Washburne, Hon. Thomas Drummond, and Hon. VanH. Higgins for their graceful tributes to the memory of our late president, Hon. Isaac Newton Arnold, and also to Hon. John Wentworth for his tribute to the memory of our late vice-president, Hon. Thomas Hoyne; and that the Committee on Publication of the Society cause these tributes to be printed, for the use of the Society, in pamphlet form.

Tribute of Hon. Wm. F. DeWolf.

In connection with this resolution in respect of Mr. Arnold, may I be permitted to say a word expressing my love and admiration for our departed friend and president. It was my great privilege from the time I came to Chicago to be able to call him my friend. We lived many years

adjoining neighbors. Our children grew up together, loving and beloved, until at last I came to look upon him as my best friend outside my own family. I dare not trust myself to relate his acts of kindness. You will pardon me for thus alluding to what, perhaps, some might think had better be sealed within the sacred precincts of individual memory. Our doors were open to each other, and we went in and out without restraint. In his family, Mr. Arnold came up to the highest standard of husband, father, and friend. He did "not dull his palm with entertainment of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade, but the friends he had, and their adoption tried, he grappled to his soul with hooks of steel." "He was the son of his own works," and those works live after him and will always remain to testify to his worth and praise him in the gates.

MARK SKINNER.

By E. W. BLATCHFORD.

Read before the Chicago Historical Society, December 13, 1887.

MARK SKINNER was born at Manchester, Vermont, September 13, 1813.

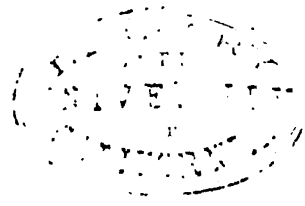
His father, Richard Skinner, one of the prominent men of New England in his day, was born in 1778 at Litchfield, Conn.; at whose celebrated law-school he was educated, and where he was admitted to the bar in 1800. He removed to Manchester in 1802, where, at this early age his rare character was recognized, and honors were rapidly conferred upon him. He was elected State's attorney for Bennington County, and judge of probate; was a member of the general assembly in 1815–18; and the last term was speaker-of-the-house; was member of congress, and assistant-judge of the supreme court. He was elected chief-justice, but declined; afterward, however, accepting the high office, in which he served for five years, when he declined a reëlection. From 1820 to '24, he was governor of the State. He was a prominent member of the Congregational Church, in Manchester. As a jurist, a statesman, a christian gentleman, he left an enduring record. He died May 23, 1833. At the same time that Richard Skinner held the office of governor, his brother Roger was chief-justice in the State of New York. The grandfather of Judge Skinner, Gen. Timothy Skinner, was a soldier of the Revolution. He and his ancestors for several generations, resided in Litchfield, Conn., or in its neighborhood.

Frances Pierpont, the mother of Judge Skinner, was

From a Photo. by S. M. Fassett, 1874. Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

Truly Yours
Mark Skinner

Sept. 13, 1813—Sept. 16, 1887.



born in New Haven, Conn., in 1782. She was descended from a long line of distinguished ancestors—the family being traced from Sir Hugh de Pierrepont, of the Castle* of Pierrepont, in the south confines of Picardy, A.D. 980. His grandson, Sir Robert de Pierrepont, came over from France to England, 1066, as a commander of the army of William the Conqueror,† by whom he was ennobled for his conduct at the battle of Hastings. Descended from him was John Pierrepont, the first of the name in this country, who settled near Boston, in 1640.‡ Mrs. Richard Skinner was a woman of rare character—a devoted mother, an earnest christian, exercising a commanding influence in the community, where her memory is still revered, though nearly half a century has elapsed since her beneficent life ended.

In a home, presided over by such parents, united in harmonious and consecrated purpose, should we not expect the development of a character like that to which we tonight pay our tribute of honor and affection?

Mark Skinner was the only son who grew up to maturity, his brothers having died in infancy. He received a thorough education. At the age of ten he was placed in a school at Bennington, and subsequently in one at Troy, New York. His preparation for college was received at the Pittsfield Academy, Mass., then under the charge of

* The place derived its name from a *stone bridge*, with which Charlemagne supplied the place of a ferry.—"The Pierpont Family. Compiled by Edward J. Marks, New Haven, 1881." Page 1.

† From whom he received great estates in the counties of Suffolk and Sussex, among which was the Lordship of Hurst Pierrepont, (or planting of Pierrepont)—*Ibid*, page 1.

‡ Hon. John Pierrepont, born in London, 1619, settled near Boston in 1640, leaving his father in London. In 1656, he purchased three hundred acres, now the site of Roxbury and Dorchester. Died, Dec. 7, 1682, having been an influential citizen of Roxbury, and a representative of the general court.—*Ibid*, page 18.

Prof. Dewey, an eminent teacher of that day. In 1830, he entered the sophomore class of Middlebury College, Vt., then in the height of its prosperity, under the able presidency of Rev. Joshua Bates, D.D., and after Yale and Harvard, equal to any of the New-England colleges, a statement abundantly verified by the list of distinguished graduates, who in the different professions have reflected honor upon their *alma mater* and their native State.

Inheriting from his father a predilection for the law, immediately upon his graduation, in 1833, he entered upon the study of his profession. Two years were spent at Saratoga Springs, with Judge Ezek Cowan, eminent as a jurist and author, and continued his studies in the office of Nicholas Hill of Albany, one of the most accomplished lawyers of the New-York bar. One acquainted with Mr. Hill characterized him to me as "at the front of the bar of Albany, and one of the foremost lawyers of the State of New York." A third year was spent at the New-Haven Law-School, attached to Yale College, under the instruction of Judges Daggett and Hitchcock.

At the completion of his term of study, he was strongly urged by Mr. Hill to join him in a co-partnership for the practice of law in New-York City; but a friend, who had spent a short time at the West and in Chicago, returned with such glowing accounts of the wondrous possibilities of this new city, with its inducements to young men of energy and enterprise, that he was led to change his partly-formed plans, and in July, 1836, came to Chicago. He was admitted to the bar immediately on his arrival, and in the autumn entered upon the active practice of the law, associated with George Anson Oliver Beaumont, as partner. In 1839–40, during the mayoralty of Alexander Loyd, he was elected city attorney, and transacted the law business of the city with eminent success. He was master-in-chancery for Cook County for many years, but

his first purely-political appointment was that of United-States district attorney, by President Tyler, to succeed Justin Butterfield; the district then embracing the entire State. Having held the office and familiarized himself with its routine of duties, it was only natural that he should desire to retain it, and when Mr. Polk's administration came in, he sought a second term, his claim being contested by Isaac N. Arnold. The contest between the two applicants was a very protracted and animated one—so animated, indeed, that a compromise was effected by conferring the office upon a third party—but the struggle had given Mr. Skinner an impressive view of the descents a man must make to obtain the federal patronage, and he resolved that this struggle for federal office should be his last.

The year 1841 was made memorable to him, in his truest life, by his marriage, on May 21, to Elizabeth Magill Williams.

Mr. Skinner was elected a member of the Illinois legislature in 1846, the session being held from the first Monday in Dec. (7), 1846, until March 1, 1847. In the light of subsequent history, we recognize the priceless value of the arduous, broad, and enduring work accomplished by him during this brief period. "He was made chairman of the committee on finance, at that time the most important committee in the house. During the time that he occupied this position, he drew up and procured the passage through the house of a bill refunding the State debt—a bill which was far-reaching in its influence upon the finances of the State. It reduced all the multiplied forms of State indebtedness—there being six or eight different styles of State bonds—into a convenient and manageable shape, ascertained the limit of the debt, and effectually cut off the possibility of frauds in issuing new and unauthorized issues of bonds. In fact, the bill evoked method and sys-

tem out of financial chaos, brought the debt of the State into an intelligible condition, and, correspondingly, placed its credit upon a healthy basis. This session was also memorable as the one calling the State convention which formed the second State constitution. Upon the question of apportionment of delegates to this convention, Northern and Southern Illinois were arrayed against each other. The southern members claimed that the apportionment should be made upon the basis of the census of 1840, which would have given their section—that is, the counties south of Springfield—the majority in the convention; and, *vice versa*, the northern members claimed that it should be made upon the basis of the census of 1845, which, in turn, would have given the northern counties the majority. As the construction of the phraseology of the old constitution could be made favorable to either side, the contest was naturally a very excited and bitter one. The championship of the northern side of the question in the house, by tacit consent, devolved upon Mr. Skinner; and, after a long struggle, his energy and excellent management carried the day. At this session, also, Mr. Skinner's influence was felt in the passage of the measure to recommence a partial payment of the interest on the State indebtedness. Up to that time the interest had been in default for many years, with a disposition to repudiate, which had long been manifest in some quarters, thereby giving the State credit a very unfavorable reputation at the financial centers of the country. It was this same question of the State debt which gave interest to the sectional contest on the appointment of delegates to the State convention, and entailed upon this apportionment the most important financial results; for, however the southern counties might stand upon the question of payment of the debt—and there were grave fears as to their attitude—it was very well known that the northern counties were unanimously in favor of

paying the interest in full, and of liquidating the principal at maturity, or as soon thereafter as the condition of the State finances would admit.

"In 1851, Mr. Skinner was elected judge of the Cook-County court of common pleas, now the superior court of Cook County. He declined a reëlection in 1853, on account of ill-health. The labors of the bench at that time were almost insupportable, especially when one's strength was limited. Judge Skinner was the sole judge of the court, and practically did the business appertaining to the higher courts of the county at that time, the circuit court holding but two short terms annually, and the recorder's court not yet being in existence. All the criminal and nine-tenths of the civil business of the county was transacted in this court, and imposed an enormous burden of care and responsibility." I make the above extract from a writer familiar with those early days.

Seldom is it that a professional career, so limited in time, leaves so profound and lasting an impress as did these seventeen years which included his practice at the bar, and his occupancy of the bench. During this period, he was associated with a body of men who did honor to the legal profession in Chicago. Among them are the familiar names of John Dean Caton, James H. Collins, J. Young Scammon, Justin Butterfield, Buckner Smith Morris, George Manierre, Ebenezer Peck, Isaac N. Arnold, Richard Jones Hamilton, Grant Goodrich, Samuel Lisle Smith, Norman Buel Judd, Thomas Hoyne, Edwin Channing Larned.

In the State too, Judge Skinner was brought into contact with men whose names are known beyond the limits of State and Nation, an association brought about by the extent of the jurisdiction of both the United-States and State judicial circuits. The fifth judicial circuit under the "Statutes of Illinois" embraced fifteen counties. The

United-States circuit and district court—called the District of Illinois, held their terms at Springfield, the seat of government. If I may trust the legal annals of those days at hand, with the testimony of men still living, who were actors, there was no state west of the Alleghanies which possessed a body of men equal to those who practised law in the courts of Illinois. There were Thomas Drummond, Charles S. Hempstead, Elihu B. Washburne, Joseph P. Hoge, Joseph B. Wells, Benjamin Mills, and Thompson Campbell of Galena. Of Quincy: Archibald Williams, Chas. B. Lawrence, Orville H. Browning, Nehemiah Bushnell, Isaac N. Morris, and Wm. A. Richardson. At the Springfield bar were Stephen Trigg Logan, Abraham Lincoln, Edward Dickinson Baker, John Todd Stuart, Stephen Arnold Douglas, John J Hardin, and Lyman Trumbull; and at Peoria: Lincoln B. Knowlton, and Onslow Peters, Norman H. Purple, Amos L. Merriman, Julius Manning, Thomas Ford, and William L. May. Among these, Judge Skinner stood a peer.

In looking at his legal career, I may say that litigation for its own sake, possessed for him no attractions. He could only enter the arena and deal vigorous blows when convinced that justice was his ally. His thorough education in the principles of law and equity, secured for him, under all circumstances, the respect of the bar and the bench. He had a stronghold on his clients, through an unbending rectitude, a shrewd insight into the cardinal principles involved, and also a delicate sense of honor. With an unusual quickness of perception he united moderation in action—a rare combination.

The same cause which led Judge Skinner to decline reëlection to the bench, operated to prevent him from resuming the general practice of his profession.

During Judge Skinner's residence in Chicago he had been frequently consulted by Eastern capitalists in regard

to investments here both in purchases of real estate and loans. His comprehensive knowledge of the law, as applied to real estate, and his accurate business habits, eminently fitted him for the successful management of such business. It may be stated, on good authority, that no person in this country has invested for non-resident capitalists anything like the amount of money that has passed through the hands of Judge Skinner; and in individual instances, single sums, ranging all the way from $5000 to $600,000, have been carefully and judiciously loaned. Specially prominent was his long and honorable connection with the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company; and here, I am permitted to read a Memorial presented to the board of directors of this company, on the occasion of Judge Skinner's death, and prepared by his warmly-attached friend, the president, Col. Jacob L. Greene—a document, I am quite sure, wholly unprecedented in the history of trust relationship:

"The directors of this company having learned of the death of the Hon. Mark Skinner, who was for more than thirty years its financial correspondent, and their own trusted, confidential advisor at Chicago, entered upon their records this minute, desiring thereby to recall and to mark their sense of the peculiar importance and value of his services to it in that relation, involving the investment of over $27,500,000, the acquistion by unavoidable foreclosure, and the subsequent sale of large amounts of real estate, and the personal oversight and handling of these great interests during all the dangerous and trying vicissitudes, which fell upon the country at large, and upon his own city in particular, during that most eventual period; the singular intelligence, foresight, sound judgment, delicacy, courage, fidelity, and single heartedness with which he treated every question, faced every emergency, and discharged every duty; his untiring watchfulness of every in-

terest involved; his equally wise and kindly zeal for the welfare of the company's debtors in times of financial distress; that unfailing courtesy which made a long association with him a pleasure as well as a high privilege; and their deep sense of loss and their sympathy with his bereaved family"—a document impressive even to a stranger, but of vastly increased significance to those who know from personal acquaintance its absolute truthfulness. These duties, so conscientiously performed, and in their broadening scope making large demands upon time and strength, he was compelled, on account of increased delicacy of health to resign on June 30, 1886.

There is another trust of which I would speak, to which Judge Skinner gave his best thought, and perhaps no other work of his will project itself forward with more enduring and potent influence upon our city and country —I refer to his work as executor and trustee under the will of the late Walter Loomis Newberry. He was, during the long years of their residence in this city, Mr. Newberry's intimate friend and confidential adviser. He drew his will, and how much we are indebted to him for the munificent bequest which in the establishment of the Newberry Library is now being executed, we may never know. It was so clearly drawn that its validity has never been assailed. A purely collateral question, touching the time for the division of the estate, after one of the severest contests known in our State courts, was decided against the contestants, in favor of the plain intention of the testator, as evidenced in the language of the will. In the simple and broad provision for the establishment and conduct of the library, enabling those upon whom may devolve the important trust of its development, to meet the varying and unknown exigencies of the future, we see his sagacity, and his thoughtful appreciation of this grand provision for the interests of literature and sound learning.

Thus from various sources is briefly sketched the distinctively professional and business life of Judge Skinner. His connection in both spheres were extensive. While not entering the field of politics, which at one time opened to him, or the attractive field of authorship or journalism, for which his thorough historic studies, and careful observation of current events, with his masterly command of the pen so rarely fitted him, his influence was yet more potent and extended than that of the politician, or orator, or journalist, in shaping the history of this city; and erecting for Chicago and the Northwest a standard of life and morals whose influence will be felt as the years roll on.

Of the political views of Judge Skinner, one who knew him in the early years of his residence in Chicago, writes: "His character and education gave him a leading position as a straightforward, reliable member of the democratic party, although it can not be said that he has ever been a professional politician."

At a later date, when the conflict which distinctly involved the anti-slavery sentiment of the country had begun, the following incident indicates Judge Skinner's attitude: "In April 1854, a meeting of prominent Chicago and State politicians, including democrats and whigs who were opposed to the course of Stephen A. Douglas in the senate, was held in room 4, Tremont House. There were present, Abraham Lincoln, Lyman Trumbull, Mark Skinner, Orville H. Browning, John T. Stuart, David Davis, Norman Buel Judd, J. Young Scammon, Francis C. Sherman, and others equally well known. Those present pledged themselves to the support of an anti-Nebraska party, and appointed a committee to agitate the subject. This led to that fusion of sentiment that revolutionized the politics of the entire northern part of the State."

Two years after, on Saturday evening, May 31, 1856,

one of the earliest and most enthusiastic Kansas meetings ever gathered in the Northwest, was held in the court-house square. Here Norman B. Judd presided, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the people of Illinois will aid the freedom of Kansas.

Resolved, That they will send a colony of five hundred actual settlers to that Territory, and provision them for one year.

Resolved, That these settlers will invade no man's rights, but will maintain their own.

Resolved, That we recommend the adoption of a similar policy to the people of all the States of the Union, ready and willing to aid; and also, a thorough concert and coöperation among them, through committees of correspondence, on this subject.

Resolved, That an executive committee of seven, *viz.*: J. C. Vaughn, Mark Skinner, George W. Dole, Isaac N. Arnold, Norman B. Judd, and Edward I. Tinkham, be appointed with full powers to carry into execution these resolutions."

A finance committee was also appointed to raise and distribute material aid. The resolutions were passed amidst the most enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

The deep conviction thus wrought into Judge Skinner's life prepared him to take the strong position he assumed as a member of the republican party when the civil war came upon us. During a journey taken with him to Washington, in the summer of 1861, after the commencement of hostilities, in the prosecution of the duties devolved upon us in connection with the needs of the army, I well remember his emphatic and clear exposition of the underlying principles of the great conflict—his abhorence of the injustice and unsound philosophy of the state-rights views, advocated by the Southern leaders,

then widely disseminated in this country and England; and the manner in which his acute mind stripped off every specious pretense from their plausible reasoning. In contrast, he dwelt upon the principles of right enunciated in the then recent action of congress, and their accordance with the truths laid down by the founders of our government, of which the constitution was the legitimate and beneficent outgrowth. All this made upon my mind an indelible impression.

The large demands made upon private means for aid in the outset of our war, found in Judge Skinner a generous response. And here we naturally turn from a consideration of his business and professional career to his work as a philanthropist.

I notice first that which Judge Skinner himself considered, in many respects, the most valuable work of his life —his connection with the United-States Sanitary Commission. This is not the occasion for the statement of the momentous and hurrying events, which made necessary this service, auxiliary to our military department.

From a peace basis, which gave employment to a few thousand troops, there suddenly sprang into existence an army of a hundred thousand men, finally increased to a million, utterly uninured to the trying vicissitudes of a soldier's life. Bloody battles soon followed, creating necessities on the field and in hospitals with which our recently-improvised medical bureau was unable to cope. Then came the call for aid which found quick response among all patriots, especially in the hearts of loyal women whose dearest ones were at the front.

On June 9, 1861, the secretary of war issued an order appointing certain gentlemen "a commission of enquiry and advice in respect of the sanitary interests of the United-States forces." Work for the sanitary needs of our soldiers was at once undertaken, much was accom-

plished during the months that followed, and on Oct. 17, the organization of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission was effected at an enthusiastic public meeting held in our city. A committee of seven was chosen, who at once organized by the election of officers, Judge Skinner being the unanimous choice for president. Time forbids that I should even outline the steps by which from modest beginnings, this beneficent work developed into its wonderful proportions. In it all, especially in securing the large benefactions from city and country, which made such success possible, we recognized our indebtedness to the influence, the words, the pen of our honored President.

As an interesting illustration of his conception of the duties of the Sanitary Commission, and also of the prudence and tact which he brought to that most difficult and delicate department of work—army and hospital inspection—I quote from his letter of instructions to the gentlemen who made the first inspection ordered by the commission, of our suffering troops in Missouri.

* * * "From Sedalia your route will naturally be, as is supposed through Warsaw to Springfield, the headquarters of the army under the command of Maj.-Gen. [David] Hunter; with whom and with Dr. [Joseph K.] Barnes, we trust you may have such conference, and from whom obtain such information and suggestions, and also such authority for yourselves, for this Commission, and for its authorized agents hereafter to be appointed, as may best conduce to the carrying out of the charitable objects we have in view.

"Your special attention is called to this branch of your instructions, as the future operations of the Commission must depend in a great measure for success on the facilities which the military authorities extend to the Commission, in the way of securing prompt and safe transmission of stores, safe and proper passage of our agents and

inspectors, and their respectful treatment by officers of all grades, soldiers, and others in the employ of the government.

"You will inform yourselves as accurately as possible where the places of greatest destitution on the part of the sick and suffering soldiers are, what particular points will be most proper as locations for our inspectors, what articles are most needed for the relief of the sick and the wounded, and, generally in what way our Commission can render the most efficient aid in the relief of, and prevention of, suffering by our troops.

"It is desired that no communications for the public press be furnished by you, unless the suggestion should come from Gen. Hunter, or other respectable authority. It is also requested that in your intercourse with the soldiers, criticism of the conduct of officers be avoided. Thorough inquiries, however, should be made, as to the causes of disease, the kinds of disease, the competency of surgeons of all grades, and the care and conduct of officers in regard to the health and comfort of the troops under their command."

Among the many irreparable losses resulting from the Great Fire, there was perhaps none more serious to history, than that of the archives of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission, comprised in several hundred carefully-indexed volumes. Here were gathered reports, letters, documents, detailing events on the march and in camp, on the battlefield and in hospital, in every department from the valley of the Mississippi to the ocean, written without fear or favor, by the faithful agents of the Commission; and here too were copies of the letters of Judge Skinner, correspondence, embracing the whole work of the Commission. These letters, written often under pressure, and upon subjects requiring peculiar delicacy of treatment, were models of epistolary style. They were direct, clear,

forcible, admirable in diction, and on all occasions characterized by that true courtesy which insured their candid consideration.

Until early in the year 1864, Judge Skinner remained at the head of this patriotic work, whose grandeur, like mountain ranges, grows more impressive as they recede. Impaired health compelled his resignation at this time. The blessing of thousands is the reward of such self-denying labor.

Let me here quote a characterization of this work, as presented on a recent occasion, by Judge Skinner's pastor:

"We can not forget—we who love these United States, we who bless that Omnipresent wisdom that went forth with our armies, that it was this man who represented the heroic love of this great Northwest, as the indefatigable head of that Sanitary Commission whose heart and hand went forth to mother those devoted legions, whose front of loyalty held the Thermopylae of civilization."

In recognition of these patriotic services, the Loyal Legion of the United States, in accordance with the provision of its charter, elected Hon. Mark Skinner and Ezra Butler McCagg, his equally zealous successor in the presidency of the Commission, companions of the order. By an extended notice and resolutions adopted Oct. 13, 1887, the State Commandary fittingly testified to his character and services.

I may not forbear to speak of the greatest gift, which as a father, he bestowed upon his Country in her hour of need. Richard Skinner his only remaining son, who had recently, with honor, graduated at Yale, heard the call of duty and responded to it. After brief and honorable service he fell in the trenches before Petersburg, June 22, 1864.

So far as I can discover, with every philanthropic agency in the history of this city, broad, true, permanent

in character, do we find Judge Skinner associated either officially, or through personal influence, or by financial aid.

From the first years of his residence in Chicago, he was the reliable friend of the common school. His early New-England associations naturally produced his high estimate of education. In 1842, he was elected one of the seven school-inspectors, of whom J. Young Scammon and Grant Goodrich still survive. Upon the city schools and the conservation of the school-fund he bestowed much time and thought. His broad views during those formative years of our public-school system were shown by his interest in securing coöperation among the friends of education throughout the State. This was accomplished by organizing school-conventions, in which the Teacher's Institute had its origin, which has continued as a valued educational auxiliary to the present time. At one of these early school-conventions held at Peoria, Oct. 8, 1854, Judge Skinner attended as delegate from this city, accompanied by such men as William H. Brown, William Jones, Richard J. Hamilton, John H. Kinzie, Norman B. Judd, Isaac N. Arnold, J. Young Scammon, and others. We turn with gratitude to these men who, at a sacrifice of time and money, as well as personal convenience, laid foundations of strength upon which after-generations have built. In 1859, the city did itself honor, in perpetuating the services of a faithful citizen, in naming one of its most commodious school-buildings —erected at the southeast corner of Aberdeen and West Jackson streets — The Skinner School. To this school his gifts have been frequent, especially to its carefully-selected library—the last bill for books, amounting to six hundred dollars, being paid by his order, while he was upon his sick-bed at Manchester.

In the earliest effort made for the intellectual and

social improvement of the young men of this city, Judge Skinner took a prominent part. On the evening of Jan. 10, 1841, a few gentleman met in the hardware-store of Seth T. Otis, to take measures for securing a reading-room and library. Judge Skinner drew up a subscription paper and all present signed it. This preliminary meeting was followed by another on the 30th of the same month, held in the chamber of the common council, in which the organization was completed under the name of The Young Men's Association of Chicago, afterward changed to The Chicago Library Association—the predecessor of the present Public Library. There were present at this meeting, Walter Loomis Newberry, Hugh Thompson Dickey, Peter Page, Walter Smith Gurnee, and William Linnæus Church. Mr. Newberry was elected president, Mark Skinner vice-president, and Judge Dickey corresponding-secretary. Thus was established the first reading-room in the city, at the southwest corner of Lake and Clark streets, which was furnished with the principal newspapers and periodicals of the day. The nucleus of a library was furnished by a selection of books presented to the association by Walter L. Newberry, on April 24, succeeding.

The Chicago Lyceum had been instituted on Dec. 2, 1834, of which the late Thomas Hoyne stated: "It was the foremost institution in the city when he came here in 1837." At that time, he says: "Not a man of note, not a man in the city of any trade or profession, who had any taste for intellectual and social enjoyment, who loved books, conversation, and debate, but belonged to the Lyceum," of this Lyceum, Judge Skinner was a leading member.

Judge Skinner was ever alive to calls for alleviation of suffering. The County Hospital was first opened March 30, 1847, and two years after, on Oct. 29, 1849, was incor-

porated under the name of The Illinois General Hospital of the Lake, the charter-trustees being Hon. Mark Skinner, Hon. H. T. Dickey, and Dr. John Evans. Dr. Nathan Smith Davis delivered a course of four lectures in the city hall for its benefit, and the hospital was opened in the old Lake House, with beds for twelve patients on Nov. 23, 1852. On Nov. 30, the board of trustees met, and adopted a code of by-laws for the government of the hospital, and elected Mark Skinner president, Dr. John Evans secretary, Capt. Richard Kellogg Swift treasurer, Dr. Daniel Brainard surgeon, Dr. Nathan S. Davis physician, and Dr. John Evans physician to the female wards. On the opening of the Mercy Hospital in 1853, this general hospital was discontinued.

The Chicago Home for the Friendless was organized in 1858. To this Judge Skinner gave his advice, and experience, and was one of its early presidents, in 1860–1.

The Illinois Charitable Eye-and-Ear Infirmary—an institution now known in two continents—was opened in May, 1858, in one room, in a small wooden building, at 60 North-Clark Street, on the northeast corner of Michigan. Judge Skinner was a member of the first board of trustees, of which W. L. Newberry was president. Of that board and officers but one now remains—Ezra B. McCagg, long its treasurer.

Judge Skinner was one of the incorporators of The Chicago Relief-and-Aid Society, whose charter was granted in February, 1857, and in the autumn of the same year it was thoroughly organized, a board of management was elected, and the constitution, general rules, and by-laws were adopted. To its early management and plans he gave much attention and wise direction. At first, voluntary visitors were engaged to examine into the wants and worthiness of applicants, but this was soon found to be an unreliable method, and paid visitors were

employed by the society, with a general superintendent, and persons in charge of its special relief. The strength and wisdom of the management thus adopted, was evidenced by the fact that ten years later, the three other organizations of relief work in the city, the Christian Union, the Citizen's Relief, and the relief department of the Young Men's Christian Association, called a meeting for consolidating their work with that of the Chicago Relief-and-Aid Society, which was accomplished. Little did these founders anticipate the vast work for which they were preparing so efficient an organization.

Judge Skinner took a prominent part in the founding of the Chicago Reform School, whose location, many of us remember, in the southern part of the city, now Kenwood, and whose influence for good we could ill-afford to spare. No institution has since filled its place in our city. He was made the first president of the board of directors, a position for which he was eminently qualified, and which he held for years. To the organization and management of this excellent institution he devoted time and personal attention without stint. "He visited and inspected the reformatory institutions of the Eastern and Middle States, and carefully studied the documentary records of similar schools in England, France, and Germany. The result was a decided conviction that the family system of reforming juvenile offenders was infinitely preferable to the congregated system in practice in this country. He labored zealously to effect this change, and finally succeeded in grafting the system upon our own institution. The result of Judge Skinner's labors supplementing those of the admirable superintendent, Geo. W. Perkins, whom he secured, was a school for reform, which was truly considered the first of its class in this country."

Of Judge Skinner's intimate connection with the Chicago Historical Society, our records bear constant

testimony. In its original planning and organization, in the growth of its collections and the building erected before the fire, and in the restoration since, his wise counsel, his active coöperation, and liberal contributions have been recognized.

At the earliest meeting, held at the suggestion and through the efforts of Rev. William Barry, April 24, 1856, which resulted in the organization of The Chicago Historical Society. William H. Brown was elected president, William B. Ogden and J. Young Scammon vice-presidents, Samuel Dexter Ward treasurer, Rev. William Barry recording-secretary and librarian, and Dr. Charles H. Ray corresponding-secretary. In addition to the above, first on the list of members was the name of Mark Skinner. Of these first officers and members, I believe there now remain with us four—J. Y. Scammon, S. D. Ward, Dr. N. S. Davis, and E. B. McCagg.

On Feb. 7, 1857, the society was incorporated, Judge Skinner being one of the incorporators; and of the names here appearing, the same four, I believe, are the only ones living. In a copy of the "Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, with a List of Officers," issued in 1856—Judge Skinner is chairman of the Committee on Library and Cabinet, with Mr. McCagg and Rev. Dr. A. E. Smallwood associates; and also chairman of the Committee on Civil History, with J. Y. Scammon and E. B. McCagg associates. In the list of officers for 1858-9, Judge Skinner appears on the Committee on Publication with Rev. Wm. Barry and Dr. Hosmer A. Johnson associates. In the years since then, we have all appreciated his constant interest in this institution—at the time of his death, he was a member of the Executive Committee and a trustee of both the Jonathan Burr and Lucretia Pond Funds. His estimate of the value of the Historical Society was high. We have often heard him

express in his emphatic way, his clear conception of its important function in the community, as the conservator of material for the history of our city and country.

In this connection it is natural to speak of Judge Skinner's love of books, and his cultivated, literary taste. His library was his chosen retreat. Its richly-laden shelves now bear witness to his scholarly taste and historic research. Particularly choice is the large collection of Americana, for whatever related to early New-England history and literature had for him a keen attraction. The total loss of his book and art treasures by the great fire, was a subject on which he could not speak unmoved. From his own lips I know of the persistency with which he clung to his early-formed habit of studious reading, even in the midst of the busy life which pressed upon him. Hence the enjoyment derived from this source in later years. He experienced the truth of Cicero's words: "*Hacc studia adolesentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant.*"

For New England, for its early history, for the development of civil and religious liberty in the mother country, for the struggles of the founders on these shores, where nature and savage man joined forces to oppose, Judge Skinner ever cherished the most profound and reverential affection. He was one of the founders of the New-England Society of this city, as I learn from the records, and nearly forty years since, on Dec. 22, 1848, he delivered an address before the society, which at the request of a large number of citizens was published. "'A Vindication of the Character of the Pilgrim Fathers' was the theme, and in close historical study of the subject, in clear convincing argument, and eloquence of diction, the oration was one of the most remarkable addresses delivered in Chicago."

In this connection should be mentioned the peculiar attachment he cherished for his early home—Manchester,

Vermont—a love so deep and strong that it constituted a part of his very life—drawing him year by year, as a devoted son, with irrestible attraction, from the pressure and care of an active life to feel the renewing touch of beautiful nature, intensified by the treasured associations of childhood and youth.

One of his last drives, was to the home of relatives, a short distance south of the village. It was a brilliant, August day. He rested, seated upon the piazza. Behind him stretched the Taconic Range, crowned by Mount Equinox, its king. Before him lay in incomparable beauty the valley of the Battenkill, and the Green-Mountain Range beyond. In quiet thought he sat, his eye commanding the line of hills for a distance of forty miles, from north to south. Then memory awoke, of boyhood, manhood, age, and from Mount Anthony on the south overlooking the battlefield of Bennington, to Mount Tabor, which terminates the field of vision to the northward, did he point out each peak, telling its former and present name, the historical associations and traditions, with memories of men, who had among them lived and died—a scene which will to many loving hearts ever make consecrate this spot.

Of Judge Skinner's religious life, I may briefly speak, though in a true and lofty sense, all his life was religious in his allegiance to duty. Upon the organization of the Second Presbyterian Church in 1842, under the pastorate of Rev. Robert Wilson Patterson, D.D., he became a regular attendant, and was for several years a trustee. He united with the church on profession in May, 1858, and in 1866, was chosen a ruling-elder. After the removal of his residence to the north side, he transferred his church relationship to the Fourth Presbyterian Church, in which he was an elder at the date of his death, which occurred at Manchester, Vermont, on September 16, 1887. The struggle was a long and painful one, but met with

the fortitude and submission of a christian. Into that chamber, whence the freed spirit took its heavenward flight, and into the home thus stricken, I may not enter.

On that September day, under the trees shaded with autumnal tints, all that was mortal of Mark Skinner, was carried by loving hands from the house in which he was born, to the resting-place chosen by himself beside his parents and sons. This sacred spot in the guardianship of the eternal hills, will ever speak of his loving thoughtfulness and generous gifts, which make it a consecrated memorial. As we turn away, there comes a voice of peace and consolation suggested by the sculptured angels which guard the gate of entrance: "I am the resurrection and the life, whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

Thus have I attempted to bring before you, with such inadequate portraiture as limited time and material have allowed; the varied activity of this earnest, useful, and consecrated life—a life which, in the formative period of our city and country, has touched so many interests, and touching has transmuted perishable material to gold. In him we see exemplified what each one of us is called upon to achieve, character—the noblest product of humanity when obedient to the gracious intimations of the divine will—character, subtle as the fragrance of the flower, yet pervasive as the atmosphere, and more potent than the mightiest forces of art or nature.

"The world wants men—true men—
Who can not be bought or sold:
Men who will scorn to violate trust—
Genuine gold.

The world wants men—pure men—
Free from the taint of sin:
Men whose lives are clean without,
And pure within."

You who knew Judge Skinner, will recall the characteristic traits which combined to make him the man he was among us—the delightful companion, the faithful friend and counselor, the strong reliance in the hour of exigency, the honored example. Yet it was not his conversational powers and flashing wit alone, though these he possessed preëminently; it was not his fidelity and wisdom alone, though in these, few equalled him; it was not insight into character and thoughtful consideration for the needs and the weaknesses of others, though many can testify to these traits; it was not his consistent christian life alone; but it was the harmonious blending of all these native gifts and acquirements which makes us mourners for his absence, as we meet tonight.

Many and large have been the gifts of New England to the West. Her means have builded our railroads, tunneled our mountains, spanned our rivers with structures which challenge the wonder of the world. Her wealth has done more, it has furnished our school-houses and academies, it has endowed our colleges and seminaries, has given books to our libraries, and builded our churches; but greater than all these has been the gift of her sons, of men educated in New-England principles, who have brought them hither, and on prairie and in city have taught them, possibly not by pen or tongue, but by that most potent of all influences—the logic of a true life. Thus today are Harvard and Yale, Amherst and Middlebury, Dartmouth and Bowdoin, speaking in living words, reiterating in the valley of the lakes and the great river, on the plains and beside the mountains, and on the Pacific Coast, the principles of truth, energy, integrity, perseverance, learning, christianity. Such a gift to our young city in days long gone was Mark Skinner, in such utterance will he be heard, as time rolls on.

ELIHU B. WASHBURNE,

By Gen. GEORGE W. SMITH.

AT a special meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, held at its rooms, Friday evening, December 16, 1887, its president, Edward G. Mason, spoke as follows:

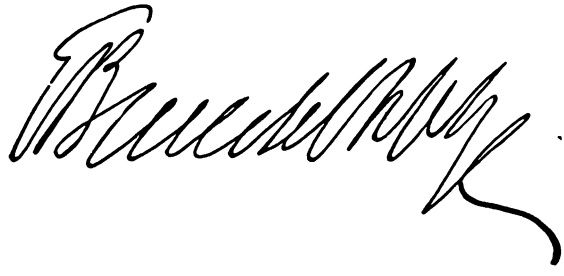
This special meeting of the Society has been called, that its members may take appropriate action concerning the death of its late eminent president, Hon. Elihu Benjamin Washburne. His prominence in the political life of our Country, in its statesmanship, and in its diplomacy, as well as his relations to this Society, make it particularly fitting that he should be remembered here. To this end, at the request of the Society and of friends and relatives of Mr. Washburne, a memorial address has been prepared, and will be delivered this evening by Gen. George W. Smith, whom I now introduce to you.

Gen. Smith then delivered the following Address:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The speaker has lately had the privilege to turn over, but not the time to examine carefully, the collection of manuscript letters addressed to the late Mr. Washburne, which consists of those that have escaped destruction, although but a small portion of those received during his lifetime. Those still preserved cover a period of some fifty years, embrace letters from his family, constituents, senators, congressmen, judges, diplomatic officers, officers of the army, and distinguished citizens and officials of both hemispheres. They constitute in all a library of

Oct. 23, 1816.
Oct. 22, 1887.



ninety-eight volumes, and contain much that will be useful to a future Macaulay.

With them rise a vision of the past, the period of 1854, 1856, and 1860; one remembers the men of that time, Sumner, Wilson, Hale, Collamer, Fessenden, Wade, Giddings, Seward, Andrew, Chase, and others, who battled for free-speech, and Stevens, Toombs, Mason, Slidell, Floyd, Butler, and Brooks, with their friends and allies. They have long passed away, so long that there remains not a vivid remembrance of their personalities and characteristics. Their names are in the shadows of the past. Yet he who lately died was the companion and associate, or the opponent of these men. With them he was a man of might, and of them the peer.

The group of brothers of the Washburne family, sturdy champions as they were, of the right, must always be a picturesque feature of American history. Descendants of John Washburne, first secretary of the Council of Plymouth, on the paternal, and of Samuel Benjamin, an officer in the revolutionary army, who was of Pilgrim stock, on the maternal side. Their native town was Livermore, originally in the county of Oxford and district of Maine. Sterile in food, it has not been so in men. Its gifts have been, to Maine six governors, to other states four, and to the Nation a vice-president—Hannibal Hamlin. In has furnished four senators and many members of congress, and lawyers and writers of distinction and note.

The father, Israel Washburne, was a merchant and ship-builder. He died in Livermore in 1876, at the age of ninety-two years, having lived for nearly eighty years in that place. A voluminous reader, with rare conversational gifts, he was, as his sons have said upon the monument erected to his memory, "a kind father and an honest man." The mother, Martha Benjamin, daughter of Samuel, was

born in 1792. She was a woman of great energy, decision, and sweetness.

At the dedication of the Washburne Memorial Library, —at the homestead now called Norlands—in 1885, Mr. Hamlin said:

"Livermore has truly sent into the world many distinguished men who have made the town historic, but the Washburne family have towered above all others in adding not only to the fame of Livermore, but to the State and county as well. It was a most remarkable family, and such another could not be found in the whole history of our country. They were all born and reared in the house raised by my father, and on the spot now occupied by the present elegant mansion. It is a spot of that great and marvelous beauty which is a joy forever.

"The record of the family has no precedent. There were seven brothers, one never entered public life, but was always known as a man of strict integrity and superior business habits. In the other six brothers, we find marvelous record—two governors of states, four members of congress from four different states, one secretary of state of the United States, two foreign ministers, two members of state legislature, one major-general in the army, who was also a military governor, and a captain in the navy. Indeed could Martha Washburne be proud of her family. But that for which she might feel the highest pride was the fact that every son of hers, in whatever position, has discharged all his duties with distinguished ability and with an untarnished record, without even a stain on the hem of his garments."

To understand the development of character that made the subject of this sketch what he became, it is necessary to recall in strict brevity the narrative of the rise of slavery in our country, opposition to the demands of which grew to be his opportunity and pleasure.

CALIFORNIA

The so-called compromises of the constitution, by which it was provided that representation and direct taxation should be in the same ratio, and in estimating them, five slaves should be reckoned as three freemen, and that the importation of slaves into the states then existing, should not be prohibited before 1808, were supported by some of the Northern States, and laid the basis for political control by the Southern States, even as against what had been the general opinion and sentiment concerning the institution of slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 by which, except in the State of Missouri, slavery was prohibited north of latitude 36°30′ in territory to be newly acquired, proved to be an expedient. Nothing was gained by it but present peace.

The new anti-slavery movement began in 1831. In 1835 and 1836, occurred the Vermont, Ohio, New-York, and Illinois riots, and, in those years, as against the right of petition, the inviolability of slavery was formally enunciated and insisted upon in congress.

On the other hand—"Elsewhere," says one writer, "than in congress, events were constantly occurring at that period and from that time forward were constantly cumulating to intensify the public excitement and to strengthen the North in the final struggle which was at some time inevitable, and it was now evident could not be long delayed. Not that such events had not happened before, but that, to the awakened observation, and conscience, * * * such events no longer passed by unheeded."

In 1839, came the demand upon Gov. Seward of New York by the governor of Virginia for the rendition of three sailors charged with aiding a slave to escape. Gov. Seward's reply that the laws of New York did not recognize property in man, was in advance of the thought and in contravention of the action and disposition of most of his own party.

The debates in congress and discussions throughout the country upon the fugitive-slave question and the nature of slave-trading laws were intensified by threats of secession and dissolution.

The second Seminole war, then in course of prosecution, which was waged for the possession of lands of the natives of Florida, arose out of a desire to reduce the Maroons of Florida to slavery, and the determination of South Carolina and Georgia not to have so near their borders an asylum for fugitive slaves.

Had not the efforts of its senators been thwarted, the State of Illinois, admitted into the Union in 1818, might, notwithstanding the Ordinance of 1787, have been a slave-state. Nominally free, the majority of its people were of southern sympathies; settled for the most part in its central and southern portions, its principal towns were upon its rivers; its commerce was with the South and the centres of population felt the influence of that section.

In the year 1840, there were but 3000 miles of railway in the United States, and in that year the telegraph was initiated by the grant of a patent to the inventor Morse for an apparatus for communication over areas by means of electricity.

Elihu B. Washburne came to Illinois at this time. His birth in 1816, had preceded the admission of Maine into the Union, so that strictly he can not be called a native of that State.

His life to that time had been that of the boy and man of work in his father's store and as a printer that had, as instinct and impulse lead him, made available such means of study and instruction as were afforded in a rural community of Maine. He had attended a course of lectures upon the law at Cambridge, and came to Illinois to practise his profession. Chicago was then comparatively unknown and he passed by it and on to Galena by way of

the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This was the year of the Harrison-and-Tyler campaign, in which, the slavery question played no conspicuous part. In it as a whig, Mr. Washburne took part. Illinois, however, true to its predilections, with four or five other states, refused to be moved, and adhered to VanBuren and the democratic party. This was the election in which the liberty party, as such, cast seven thousand votes.

Mr. Washburne continued to be active in politics and in 1844 was a supporter of Henry Clay in the convention at which he was nominated.

The scheme for the declaration by Texas of its independence of Mexico, and its subsequent annexation by the United States, as a measure for the recovery and preservation of power to the South, culminated in 1845, after the election of Polk over Clay. Then followed the intrigues by which the war with Mexico was precipitated, the acquisition of New Mexico and California, the discovery of gold, and the admission of California. The Wilmot proviso, moved in 1846, was intended to exclude slavery in all territory acquired from Mexico, and when introduced commanded almost every northern vote. During this period, the bankrupt bill, the tariff, the Oregon boundary, and many other questions were subjects of discussion by legislatures and congress. In 1848, the whigs, disregarding the claims of Clay and Webster, who had then fallen into some disfavor at the North, nominated Taylor and Fillmore.

The following letter from the original manuscript, shows the friendship, that had, at an early date, sprung up between Mr. Washburne and Abraham Lincoln, and which never ceased but grew in intensity, until the martyrdom of the latter. Written not in the tone of a state-paper, nor in the lofty language of diplomatic communication, it exhibits the quaintness and shrewdness of Mr. Lincoln:

"WASHINGTON, April 30, 1848.

Dear WASHBURNE:—I have this moment received your very short note asking me if old Taylor is to be used up and who will be the nominee. My hope of Taylor's nomination is as high—a little higher—than it was when you left. Still the case is by no means out of doubt. Mr. Clay's letter has not advanced his interests here. Several who were *against* Taylor, but not *for* anybody particularly, before or since, are taking ground, some for Scott and some for McLean. Who will be nominated, neither I nor any one else can tell. Now, let me pray to you in turn. My prayer is, that you let nothing discourage or baffle you; but that, in spite of every difficulty, you send us a good Taylor delegate from your circuit. Make Baker, who is now with you, I suppose, help about it. He is a good hand to raise a breeze. * * *

"Gen. Ashley, in the senate from Arkansas, died yesterday. Nothing else new beyond what you see in the papers. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

"Old Taylor" will be recognized as Gen. Zachary Taylor, and Baker as the gifted orator, who afterward fell at Ball's Bluff. In 1850, the compromises were proposed by Mr. Clay, which included the new fugitive-slave law, and proposed to establish territorial governments, without legislation regarding slavery. Their proposal was followed by the famous 9th-of-March speech of Mr. Webster in support, which excited great indignation, and contrary to the intent of its author quickened the anti-slavery movement. In 1852, Mr. Washburne carried his district for congress by 286 majority against Thompson Campbell. His energy, persistence, boldness, and earnest sympathy with free-state thought gave him the victory.

The death of Taylor and the accession of Fillmore

occurred, and the election of Pierce was followed by the proposal by Douglas, in January, 1854, of a bill for the admission of Nebraska, accompanied by a report questioning the validity of the Missouri compromise, and declaring that the compromise of 1850 left the question of slavery to the decision of the people residing in any given territory.

This was the doctrine known as squatter sovereignty. Throughout all the discussions of those years Mr. Washburne was outspoken and pronounced. A politician, he was, nevertheless, courageous and bold. In 1856, he was instrumental in bringing Illinois as a State into Republican control; in 1858, he continued active, being in close communication with Mr. Lincoln, at the time of the memorable debates of that year, and in 1860 was one of Mr. Lincoln's hearty supporters. He was, as his earnest nature would naturally lead him to be, in advance of the latter, as the following letter indicates:

"CENTRALIA, Sept. 16, 1858.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

Dear Sir:—Yesterday at Jonesborough, Douglas, by way of placing you and me on different ground, alleged that you were everywhere, pledging yourself unconditionally against the admission of any new slave-states.

"If his allegation be true, burn this without answering it. If it be untrue, write me such a letter as I may make public with which to contradict him. Yours truly,

"Address to Springfield. A. LINCOLN."

Time will not permit to follow closely the events of the year 1860, but throughout Mr. Washburne was a counsellor and advisor, not only of Mr. Lincoln but of many others of the then leaders.

In the fall of that year, Mr. Lincoln's growth of conviction as well as his determination, in advance of what was

generally known of them, were shadowed forth in the following:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 13, 1860.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

My Dear Sir:—Your long letter received. Prevent, as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on *slavery extension.* There is no possible compromise upon it, but which puts us under again, and leaves also our work to be done over again—Whether it be a Mo. line or Eli Thayer's Popr. Sov., it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN."

Passing Mr. Lincoln's journey to Washington and his inauguration, the details of which and of Mr. Washburne's connection with them will never cease to entertain, we come to the outbreak of the civil war and the outward manifestation of another friendship, destined to be long continued and intimate.

Writing in 1864, Gen. Winfield Scott said—

"WEST POINT, N. Y., July 2, 1864.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

My Dear Sir:—I heard a short time ago that some one had informed Lieut.-Gen. Grant that I had spoken slightly of him as an officer, and it is probable that your frank may enable this letter to reach him. I beg leave to say to him through you that I have never uttered an unkind word about him. The inquiry has frequently been addressed to me. 'Do you know Gen. Grant?' I have answered that he made the campaign of Mexico with me, and was considered by me, and I suppose by all his broth-

ers in commission, a good officer, and one who attained special distinction at Molino del Rey. Of his more recent services, I have uniformly spoken in terms of the highest admiration, and added that in my opinion he had richly earned his present rank, and hope he may speedily put down the rebellion. Very truly yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT."

Capt. Grant, resigned from the United-States Army, and Mr. Washburne were neighbors at Galena. The latter, three years or more before the writing of the letter of Gen. Scott, believed he saw signs of merit in the former; but it is better to let Gen. Grant tell the story. In a letter from Cairo, in this State, under date of September 3, 1861, this language occurs: "In conclusion, Mr. Washburne, allow me to thank you for the part you have taken in giving me my present position. I think I see your hand in it and admit that I had no personal claim for your kind office in the matter. I can assure you, however, my whole heart is in the cause which we are fighting for, and I pledge that, if equal to the task before me, you shall never have cause to regret the course you have taken."

The victory of Fort Donelson in February, 1862, thrilled the heart of the loyal North. It was the bright omen of hope after the disasters in Virginia of 1861. Gen. Grant, after that battle, again wrote:

"FORT DONELSON, TENN., Feb. 21, 1862.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE, Washington, D.C.,

Dear Sir:—Since receiving your letter at Fort Henry, events have transpired so rapidly that I have scarcely time to write a private letter. * * That portion of your letter which required immediate attention, was replied to as soon as your letter was read. I mean that I telegraphed Col. C. C. Washburne, Milwaukee, Wis., asking him to

accept a place on my staff. As he has not yet arrived, I fear my dispatch was not received. Will you be kind enough to say to him that such a dispatch was sent, and that I will be most happy to publish the order the moment he arrives, assigning him the position you ask.

"On the 13th, 14th, and 15th, our volunteers fought a battle that would figure well with many of those fought in Europe, where large standing-armies are maintained.

"I feel very grateful to you for having placed me in the position to have had the honor of commanding such an army, and at such a time. I only trust that I have not or will not disappoint you. The effect upon the community here is very marked since the battle. Defeat, disastrous defeat, is admitted.

"Yesterday I went to Clarkesville with a small escort, two of our generals having preceded me. Our forces now occupy that place, and will take possession of a large amount of commissary stores, ammunition, and some artillery. The road to Nashville is now clear, but whether my destination will be there or further west, can not yet be told. I want to move early, and no doubt will.

"I want to call your attention to Gen. C. F. Smith. It is a pity that our service should lose so fine a soldier from a first command. If major-generals are to be made, a better selection could not be made than to appoint Smith.

Yours truly, U. S. GRANT."

The correspondence was continued and communications were frequent. These only will be read:

On July 25, 1863, after the capture of Vicksburg, Senator Henry Wilson had written from Natick, Mass., to Mr. Washburne, congratulating him on the success of Gen. Grant, and complimenting the fidelity of the former to him in time of trial. He suggested that the report was out that Gen. Grant, had been invited to take

command of the Army of the Potomac, and added "I am satisfied his success has excited envy and that if an opportunity should offer he would be sacrificed."

This letter Mr. Washburne sent to Gen. Grant, for we have that of the latter as follows:

"VICKSBURG, MISS., Aug. 30th, 1863.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 8th of August, enclosing one from Senator Wilson to you, reached here during my temporary absence to the northern part of my command, hence my apparent delay in answering. I fully appreciate all Senator Wilson says. Had it not been for Gen. Halleck and Dana, I think it altogether likely, I would have been ordered to the Potomac. My going could do no possible good. They have many able officers, who have been brought up with that army and to import a commander to place over others certainly could produce no good. Whilst I would not positively disobey an order I would have objected most vehemently to taking the command or any other, except the one I have. I can do more with this army than it would be possible for me to do with any other without time to make the same acquaintance with others, I have with this. I know that the soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee can be relied on to the fullest extent. I believe I know the exact capacity of every general in my command to command troops and just where to place them to get from them the best services. This is a matter of no small importance.

* * * Your letter to Gen. Thomas has been delivered to him. I will make an effort to secure a brigadiership for Col. Chetlain with the colored troops. Before such a position will be open, however, more of these troops will have to be raised. This work will progress rapidly.

The people of the North need not quarrel over the

institution of slavery, while Vice-President Stephens acknowledges the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and can not be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South if we were to make peace today, granting to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an Abolitionist, not even what could be called anti-slavery, but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind, early in the rebellion, that the North and South could not live at peace with each other except as one Nation and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace reëstablished, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled.

Rawlins and Maltby have been appointed brigadier-generals. These are richly-deserved promotions. Rawlins, especially, is no ordinary man. The fact is, if he had started in this war in the line instead of in the staff, there is every possibility he would be today one of our shining lights. As it is, he is better and more favorably known than probably any other officer in the army, who has filled only staff appointments. Whilst others give respectability to the position, Rawlins is in the latter class. My kind regard to the citizens of Galena,

Your sincere friend, U. S. GRANT."

Again:

"CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Dec. 2, 1863.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

Dear Sir:— * * * For the past three weeks I have not only been busy but have had company occupying my rooms making it impossible for me to write anything. Last week was a stirring time with us and a magnificent victory was won. I am sorry you could not be here. The spectacle was grand beyond anything that

has been, or is likely to be, on this continent. It is the first battlefield I have ever seen where a plan could be followed, and from one place the whole field be within our view. At the commencement the battle line was fifteen miles long. Hooker, on our right, soon carried the point of Lookout Mountain, and Sherman the north end of Missionary Ridge, thus shortening the line by five or six miles and bringing the whole within one view. Our troops behaved magnificently, and have inflicted on the enemy the hardest blow they have received during the war.

"Your Galena friends with us are all well and wish to be remembered. Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT."

In the following year he had accepted the inevitable, had gone to the Potomac, and was fighting the campaign, commencing with the Wilderness. He wrote:

"CITY POINT, VA., Aug. 16, 1864.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,

Dear Sir:—Your letter asking for autographs to send to Mrs. Adams, the wife of our minister to England, was duly received. She had also sent to Mr. Dana for the same thing and his requisition, he being with me at the time, was at once filled. I have directed Col. Bowers to send with this a few of the original dispatches telegraphed from here. They have all been hastily written and not with the expectation of ever being seen afterward, but will, I suppose, answer as well as anything else, or as if they had been written especially for the purpose of sending.

"We are progressing here slowly. The weather has been intolerably warm, so much so that marching troops is nearly death.

"I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now, to insure an early restoration of the Union, is a

determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last men. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, railroad-bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them can not be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is visible if we will but be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, whilst it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent and would make but little resistance.

"I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope for a counter revolution. They hope for the election of the peace candidate. In fact, like McCawber, they hope for 'something to turn up.'

"Our peace-friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war with thousands of northern men joining the South because of our disgrace allowing separation.

"To have peace 'on any terms' the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North. Yours truly, U. S. GRANT."

The following also appears in the Washburne collec-

tion, headed "cypher." It is no doubt the original of a dispatch to the president:

"CITY POINT, VA., July 19, 1864.

A. LINCOLN, *President*:—

In my opinion there ought to be an immediate call for say 300,000 men, to be put in the field in the shortest possible time. The presence of this number of reinforcements would save the annoyance of raids and would enable us to drive the enemy back from his present front, particularly from Richmond, without attacking fortifications.

"The enemy now have their last men in the field. Every depletion of their army is an irreparable loss. Desertions from it are now rapid. With the prospect of large additions to our force their desertions would increase. The greater number of men we have the shorter and less sanguinary will be the war.

"I give this entirely as my view, and not in any spirit of dictation, always holding myself in readiness to use the materials given me to the best advantage I know how.

U. S. GRANT."

During those days when Grant was in Virginia and Sherman was making his way to Atlanta, when upon every hillock there was a rifle-pit and hehind it an armed foe, when every thicket was filled with rebel-guns, when movements forward were for days and weeks more like the appearance of a siege than movements in the field, when time was given to reflect, it was a cause of speculation whether or not the Union army would at its home be sustained or by its own people be compelled to turn back, but of the district which Mr. Washburne had continued to represent there was never a doubt. Illinois itself might fail, but Washburne's district never! The leader,

the district, and the cause were inseparably blended in thousands and tens of thousands of anxious minds.

Gen. Rawlins of Galena and afterward secretary of war was also a friend of Mr. Washburne.

A few lines from him:

"Head Qr. Mil. Div. of the Miss.,
NASHVILLE, TENN., Jan'y. 30, 1864.

Dear WASHBURNE:—

On my return from the North, I was pleased to find your very welcome and interesting letter of the 30th *ult.*, and I hasten to assure you, your friendship for the general, your devotion to our common country and heroic manifestation of interest in the welfare and success of our army here, through evil as well as good report, in the dark of the Nations's despondency as well as in the light of its victories are truly and honestly appreciated, and to you, more than any one in congress, the great heart of this army warms with gratitude as the true representative and bold and uncompromising defender. * * * So give yourself no concern in the matter of the Cavalry regiment you speak of, for the general fully understands your motives, and knows them to be prompted solely by a desire for the public service and in friendship to him.

* * * "I see by the papers the bill creating a lieutenant-generalcy is still undisposed of. As far as Gen. Grant may be regarded in connection with it, I only say that if the conferring of the distinguished honor on him would be the taking him out of the field or with a view to the superseding of Gen. Halleck, he would not desire it, for he feels that if he can be of service to the government in any place it is in command of the army in the field, and there is where he would remain if made a lieutenant-general, besides he has great confidence in and friendship for the general-in-chief and would, without

regard to rank, be willing at all times to receive orders through him.

"The advocacy of the *New-York Herald* and other papers of the general for the presidency, gives him little concern; he is unambitious of the honor and will voluntarily put himself in no position nor permit himself to be placed in one he can prevent that will in the slightest manner embarrass the friends of the government in their present grand effort to enforce its rightful authority and restore the Union of the states. Of his views in this matter I suppose he has fully acquainted you.

"The presence of Longstreet in East Tennessee is much to be regretted. Had Gen. Grant's orders been energetically, and with a broader judgment, executed by Gen. Burnside, Longstreet would have been forced to have continued his retreat from Knoxville to beyond the Tennessee line. The general's official report will show the facts and orders and will be satisfactory, I have no doubt to the government. Our forces in the Holston Valley, east of Knoxville, have been compelled by Longstreet to fall back toward Knoxville. Whether he intends to again undertake the capture of that place, or simply to extend his forage ground, is not as yet known. In either design, he must be foiled. Gen. Grant, Gen. W. F. Smith, and myself go forward tomorrow to Chattanooga that the general may be enabled to give his personal attention to affairs in the direction of Knoxville.

"Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain your friend,

JNO. A. RAWLINS."

"To Hon. E. B. Washburne, M.C., Washington, D.C."

Mr. Washburne remained in congress until 1869, serving upon the important committees of appropriation and commerce—a recognized leader—not only by virtue of his term of service, but by ability.

In the latter years he is described as large, broad shouldered, with light-gray eyes, and iron-gray hair, worn long and falling on the neck, plain in attire, without a beard.

One writer says of him: "The expression of his face in repose is rendered almost untranslatable by his intense industry, which being of a nervous sort keeps him screwed up to a headlong gait all the while. He never listens to hear his brother speak more than a few minutes, being brimful of things to do and say, and the lines across his forehead deepen and thicken as he scratches away with a pen, tears the wrappers off newspapers, whistles for a page, leans over backward to talk quickly, and nervously jumps up to object or interject remarks." Another:

"His voice is full and deep when he wishes it to be so. His style of oratory is easy, off-hand and more convincing to my mind than that of any other member of the house. He is earnest and forcibly decided in his expressions and goes into an argument or a debate with the honest enthusiasm and thrilling excitement, characteristic of his section. His gestures are wild in the extreme but one soon becomes accustomed to them."

He was the enemy of all schemers and the opponent of waste; and as some one has said, he had an inflexible contempt for one who sought to live by the blindness of the government.

The period from 1840 to 1869, marked an epoch in the history of the United States, more important in what was attempted and accomplished, and in its results, than the thirty-years' war or the contest of parliament with the house of Stuart. Fortunate to have lived in it, more fortunate to have had a share in the work, more fortunate still to have been a promoter of thought, foremost among among great men, a factor in the strife; such was Mr. Washburne, and well might he then rest upon laurels already won.

Called in March, 1869, to the office of secretary of state by Gen. Grant, then president, he soon after resigned, for the sake of rest. He accepted the position of minister to France, no doubt thinking it should prove a place of quiet repose.

But the French-and-German war came, and again there was a manifestation of the same regard for humanity, the same heroism, the same persistence and perseverance that had been his on the prairies of Illinois and in the halls of congress.

The story of his conduct prior to and during the siege of Paris has been often told and is a household word. His recollections lately published are an important and most interesting contribution to the annals of that time.

He is remembered today as the minister who knew and dared to do the right. Since Benjamin Franklin, a printer also, no minister has drawn to himself so much renown, none will be so remembered. This is true of a service which has included an Everett, a Bancroft, an Adams, a March, and, it is not right to omit, a Lowell.

While in Europe, Mr. Washburne did much for this Society using his private purse to purchase what was rare. Through his action its collection of French and British maps was secured.

His official life ceased in 1877, after which he was active for he could not be otherwise. Making his home at Chicago, he wrote, edited, and delivered lectures. It would be impracticable to attempt to number or to indicate the scope of his papers and addresses. The "Life of Gov. Coles" and recollections of his ministry, are perhaps the most important, although none are without interest, both in subject and style. At last, he could do no more, and we meet tonight, the Society of which he was the president, because in his life he was an honor to the Nation, to his community, and to ourselves.

Mr. Washburne was thrifty and prudent. At an early day he appreciated the future of lands in the Western States and became the purchaser of considerable tracts, for which he paid as modest saving would allow. In this he laid the basis of a considerable fortune. He was also one of the legatees of his brother, Gen. Cadwallader Washburne, who had been a successful man of business.

His life was long and remarkable. As time grows, and to those who shall call him in memory or learn of him from annals, he will appear even greater than at this present period.

One feature of the man, perhaps that in which all others blend, will always shine out, and that a quality not peculiar to those who are American born but here instinctively recognized, appreciated and approved, courage—courage of conviction, courage in expression, and courage in action. These were not wanting in the president who was greater than language can portray him, or in the general greater in war than Napoleon because he fought not for conquest, or in Washburne. As in life they were united, so in death they should not be divided. The beautiful park which lies to the north of our city, in which now stands the striking statue of Lincoln, and in which that of Grant will shortly be placed, will not be complete until there also shall be erected a monument to the memory of Elihu Benjamin Washburne.

TRIBUTE OF WILLIAM H. BRADLEY.

Mr. PRESIDENT:—I desire to move a vote of thanks to Gen. Smith for the admirable memorial paper, to which we have listened with so much pleasure; and that he be requested to furnish the original, or a copy of the same, as a permanent contribution to be preserved among the archives of this Society.

I will also, with your permission, Mr. President, add a word of personal thanks to Gen. Smith for his labor of love in this behalf. His appreciation of the more salient points in the character of Mr. Washburne, show a discrimination which renders his tribute the more valuable. An acquaintance more or less intimate with Mr. Washburne, covering a period of nearly forty-eight years, has left an impress on my mind of a character, which stamps Mr. Washburne as a great man, and in some respects he must, I think, be classed as a genius.

Mr. Washburne arrived in Galena, where I was then residing, April 1, 1840, a young man, boyant, full of life and energy, and ambitious in his chosen profession of the law. He at once settled himself to business, and very soon established a reputation for indomitable industry and perseverance. He found a bar at Galena which for ability, in proportion to its numbers, was probably as able as any in the State. Among whom were Charles S. Hempstead, subsequently a partner of Mr. Washburne, almost the Nestor of the bar in this State, having been admitted to practise in the Territory of Missouri in 1814, and also in the Territory of Illinois in the same year.

There was also John Turney, Joseph P. Hoge, Thomas Drummond, Joseph B. Wells, Thompson Campbell, and others, who achieved more or less celebrity at the bar and in political life. Of the members of that bar in the spring of 1840, two only survive. Hon. Thomas Drummond of this City and Hon. Joseph P. Hoge of San Francisco, Cal. The population of Galena at that time did not exceed two thousand. The mining of lead ore and the furnaces for reducing or smelting it in the adjacent ridges and ravines gave employment to a large industrious and thrifty population. Galena being the centre of trade for that mining region, the port for receipt of supplies and the transshipment of the lead, made it a place of remarkable

business activity. The people there indulged in very sanguine hopes of a prosperity and growth, which perhaps unfortunately for them, has never been fully realized.

Mr. Washburne and Charles S. Hempstead soon formed a co-partnership for the practice of the law, and together built up a large and lucrative practice. The old custom of traveling the circuit and with the judge visiting the adjoining counties, where the terms of court were held, had not ceased in the earlier years of his practice, and to Mr. Washburne, as the junior member of the firm, fell the duty of visiting the neighboring counties in Wisconsin, and also the adjoining counties in the old sixth judicial-circuit in this State, and thus enlarging their business and reaping the fruit, resulting from much hardship and toil.

Mr. Washburne's professional duties did not hinder or deter him from an active participation in political affairs. The memorable Harrison campaign of 1840, was exciting great and increasing interest through the country, when Mr. Washburne arrived in Galena; and he entered heartily into the canvass, with so much of zeal and enthusiasm as to greatly strengthen the hope and confidence of the people—especially in Jo Daviess County—in the ultimate success and triumph of the whig party.

Mr. Washburne was a member of the national convention which nominated Henry Clay for the presidency in 1844. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Clay, illustrating in his devotion, the power of the magnetic attraction, which so strongly bound Mr. Clay's many admirers to his personal and political fortunes.

During the first fifteen years of Mr. Washburne's residence in Galena, the commercial and business relations and intercourse of its citizens, were close and quite intimate with St. Louis and New Orleans, and many of its business men migrated from the Southern States, and as a consequence the pro-slavery feeling and sentiment

among the people, was decided and strong. Mr. Washburne, however, for political success or otherwise, never pandered in the slightest degree to that sentiment or prejudice. On the contrary, he never failed at all times and under all circumstances in unmistakable language, to avow his anti-slavery convictions, and to declare freely his his utter detestation of both the theory and practice of a system which recognized any human being as a chattle or property of his fellowman.

It was not at the bar, neither in the turmoil and excitement growing out of any local political canvass, that Mr. Washburne achieved his greatest distinction. His quarter of a century of public service, from 1852 to 1877, gave him a field for active and honorable usefulness more to his taste, and at the same time in the line of an honorable ambition. He had a firmness of character that never wavered in devotion to the principal or the policy that inspired his action. His habits of self-control and mental discipline, largely acquired in his application—the previous twelve years — to his professional duties undoubtedly helped to qualify him for the successful discharge of the more important public duties which subsequently devolved on him through the favor of his friends and fellow-countrymen.

Throughout the struggle in our country for the preservation of the Nation's life, his patriotism was all aflame, giving occasion for the manifestation of that high-moral courage for which he was eminently distinguished. In the life of Mr. Washburne, this State has a legacy, which for fidelity to duty, for extraordinary and indomitable courage, in honorable achievements, and in public life will compare favorably with that left, by the greatest men, who have distinguished themselves in the formative period in the history of this their adopted commonwealth.

PHILO CARPENTER,

A Settler of Chicago in 1832.

By Rev. HENRY L. HAMMOND.

Read before the Chicago Historical Society, July 17, 1888.

PERSONAL acquaintance of thirty years, official connection in the Chicago Theological Seminary, sketches of his life in the "Leading Men of Chicago," "United-States Biographical Dictionary of Eminent and Self-Made Men," and in various papers carefully compiled by Mrs. W. W. Cheney, "Records of Chicago Presbytery," church-records, and conferences with his children and friends, are the sources of my information. I have not hesitated to appropriate whatever I have found that appeared essential to the completeness of this Memorial. Accuracy and fulness have been sought rather than originality.

A good and wise man is a blessing to his generation. But he dies and the generation passes away. Apparently the blessing dies with him. Not so. The world is better for his life. Not Chicago only, but every part of the land which Chicago influences is other than it would have been but for the work of Philo Carpenter; and that though not one word more should ever be written of him, though no portrait or bust should show us how he looked, and no stone should tell us where he sleeps. Yet a true historical sketch of the man will be welcomed by coming generations, and this Society would not be faithful to its mission if it did not seek to perserve for them such a memorial.

It is natural to ask first after a man's antecedents, and trace his lineage. It is pleasant to note that Philo Car-

Philo Carpenter

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OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

penter came from New England, and from the Berkshire Hills of New England; and looking further back, that the line runs among the heroes and patriots of the last century. Both his grandfathers were in the army of the Revolution. Nathaniel Carpenter resigned a captaincy in his majesty's service and raised a company for the Continental army, fought through the war, and at its close was a major in command of West Point. An earlier ancestor was William Carpenter, a pilgrim who came from Southampton, England to Weymouth, Mass., in 1635, in the ship *Bevis*.*

In 1787, the family came to western Massachusetts then a wilderness, where the subject of this sketch was born in the town of Savoy, Feb. 27, 1805, the fifth of eight children of Abel Carpenter. One only of the eight is still living, Mrs. Emily C. Bridges of Oak Park, Ill., who is with us this evening. Philo lived on the farm with his father till he was of age. He received little money from his parents, but did receive those greater gifts, good blood, a good constitution, a good common-school education—supplemented by a few terms at the academy at South Adams—and habits of morality, industry, and economy. He made two trips as a commercial traveler as far south as Richmond, Va. But having had his thoughts turned toward medical studies during his stay at South Adams, he went to Troy, New York, and entered the drug-store of Amatus Robbins, where, in connection with a clerkship, he continued his studies, and at length gained a half-interest in the business. He was married there in May, 1830, to Sarah Forbes Bridges, but she died the following November.

It was at Troy that young Carpenter experienced that

* Rev. Edward Hildreth, son-in-law of Dea. Carpenter writes: "I myself found at Plymouth an original appraisal, dated 1664, one of the items being a pair of leather breeches, with name of William Carpenter attached."

great change which gives permanence to all the natural virtues and fixes the character on the bed-rock of Christian principle. In March, 1830, he joined the First Presbyterian Church, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Nathan S. S. Beman. As the record shows that thirty-six other persons joined at the same time, there must have been a revival then. Perhaps it was in connection with the labors of the brilliant and eloquent young preacher from Albany, Rev. Edward N. Kirk, who aided Dr. Beman in revival work about that time. Certain it is that not long before, that First church had fallen under the moulding power of the greatest evangelist, preacher, and theologian, which perhaps this country ever has known, Charles G. Finney, and had become noted for its fervor and religious activities.

Well was it for the man who was to be a pioneer, that his Christian life in its very beginnings was stamped with the positiveness of such spiritual leaders, who tolerated no time-serving, no half-heartedness, no cowardice in the convert. Every spiritual child was expected to be a soldier from the day of his birth.

It is not surprising that such a young man should listen to the call for missionary labor in the great opening West. There was patriotic blood in him, pioneer blood, and newborn Christian zeal. The return of a cousin, Isaac Carpenter, who had explored the West, on an Indian-pony, from Detroit to St. Louis, and his report of the land to be possessed, and especially of the favorable opening at Fort Dearborn, was the immediate occasion of young Carpenter's decision to come hither. He closed out his business early in the summer of 1832, shipped a stock of drugs and medicines to Fort Dearborn, took the short railroad then built to Schenectady, thence took passage on a line-boat on the Erie Canal to Buffalo, thence on the small steamer *Enterprise*, Captain Augustus Walker, to

Detroit, thence by mud-wagon, called a stage, to Niles, Michigan, thence on a lighter belonging to Hiram Wheeler, afterward a well-known merchant of Chicago, to St. Joseph at the mouth of the river, in company with George W. Snow; thence they had expected to sail in a schooner to Fort Dearborn, but on account of the report of cholera among the troops there, a captain, one Carver, refused to sail and had tied up his vessel. They however engaged two Indians to tow them around the head of the lake in a canoe, with an elm-bark tow-rope. At Calumet, one of the Indians was attacked with cholera, but the druggist-doctor prescribed for him and they kept on till, just fifty-six years ago this evening, they were within sight of the fort, at about the present location of the Douglas Monument, when the Indians refused to proceed. But Samuel Ellis lived there who had come from Berkshire County, Mass. They spent the night with him and he brought them the next morning in an ox-wagon to the fort, on the 18th of July, 1832.*

There were then here, outside the fort, less than two hundred inhabitants, mostly Indians and half-breeds, who lived in poor log-houses, built on both sides of the river near its mouth.

The cholera† was raging fearfully among the troops, and Mr. Carpenter engaged at once in ministries for their

* Rev. Mr. Hildreth reports this trip a little differently:—"At St. Joseph a Frenchman told them of a 'very nice way to go;' they hired the two Indians, left St. Joseph Monday, July 16, 1832. First night stayed in a place where a vessel had been beached. Tuesday night, reached a deserted house at Calumet. Wednesday morning, pushed along and breakfasted with Samuel Ellis. After breakfast, Mr. Ellis brought them with their trunks into Chicago, reaching there about noon, Wednesday, July 18." It is interesting to note that the late Gurdon S. Hubbard made twenty-six such canoe voyages from Mackinac to Chicago, on the east shore of the lake from 1818 onward, in the service of the American Fur-Company.

† Rev. H. L. Hammond—*Dear Sir:* Will you permit a stranger to express her grateful appreciation of the Memorial of the late Philo Carpenter, re-

relief. Detecting life in one young man, supposed to be dead, he saved him from a premature burial.

With a Methodist brother and an officer of the fort, he held a prayer-meeting the first evening after his arrival.*

At the end of the first month, *viz.:* on August 19, a Sunday-school was regularly organized, of which he was chosen superintendent. That Sunday-school still lives in the First Presbyterian Church of this city, whose pastor is Rev. Dr. John H. Barrows.†

cently read by yourself before the Chicago Historical Society. It was a gratification to hear a tribute so truthful paid to the memory of one who was so truly a friend of humanity.

During the dread summers of 1849 and 1850 it was my privilege to be a member of his family, and to know how tireless were his efforts in behalf of the sick and suffering. Fearless of disease himself, he seemed to lead a charmed life among the abject poor, with all their wretched surroundings. It was impossible in many cases to obtain a physician's attendance, and here Chicago's first druggist did their work as necessity forced it upon him. His devoted wife, while greatly fearing for her husband's safety, never sought to restrain him in his work of mercy, but with her own hands prepared nourishment to be used in his daily ministrations among the cholera-stricken to whom he was doctor, nurse, and minister. Said the Rev. Dudley Chase, the rector of the Church of the Atonement: "I never visit the stranger, the sick, and the poor, but I find that Deacon Carpenter has been there before me. He ought to be ordained." It is not strange that such devotion was unrecorded, for this man in the quietness of his daily life shunned the breath of praise more than that of pestilence. * * * Yours Respectfully,

CHICAGO, July 30, 1888. SOPHIA T. GRISWOLD.

* "Inquiring if there was any preaching on Sunday, he was told there was preaching neither Sundays nor week-days; and he began public service, July 22, 1832, reading a sermon in the absence of a minister. This was the beginning of uninterrupted public worship in Chicago."—Rev. Hildreth.

† "This school was organized one Sabbath morning in the month of August, 1832. The place of meeting was an unfinished building owned by Mark Beaubien [a Catholic] now living at Naperville in this State, situated east of Michigan Avenue and south of Randolph Street. The following persons participated in the organization: Luther Childs, Mrs. Seth Johnson, Misses Elizabeth and Mary Noble, and myself. Thirteen children were present. The next Sabbath the school met at the house of Mark Noble, where

When Mr. Carpenter's goods arrived, he opened the first drug-store in a log-building on Lake Street near the river, where there was a great demand for his drugs, especially his quinine. The anticipated opening of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, a bill for which, introduced by the late Gurdon S. Hubbard, passed the Illinois' house of representatives in 1833—though it did not become a law till 1835, and the canal was not actually commenced till Mr. Hubbard removed one of the first shovelfuls of dirt, July 4, 1836—turned attention to Fort Dearborn,

the weekly prayer-meeting had been previously established." Both were continued with slight interruptions during the fall and winter of 1832–3 in various places. An English friend by the name of Osborn helped much in the singing, John Wright and John Stephen Wright, his son, came and became efficient helpers in the school; the latter being librarian brought in a silk handkerchief the few books we had, which were a donation from Capt. Seth Johnson. The school afterward found a home for awhile in the log-house of the venerable Jesse Walker, a Methodist preacher, near the corner of Canal and Fulton streets; and later still over the store of Philip F. W. Peck, southeast corner of South-Water and LaSalle streets. There two gentlemen from New York, Charles Butler and Arthur Bronson, visited it, and seeing the meagreness of the library, made a donation of fifty dollars for its increase. This was a great encouragement to both teachers and scholars. There Jeremiah Porter found it, and soon had an organized church.

"Another incident in the early history of the school, I will mention. A chief of one of the Indian tribes made his appearance in our school and being able to converse somewhat freely in English, he listened to the reading of Christ's words when he taught us to love one another and even our enemies, and after some remarks on the mission of Christ to this world to save sinners, his voluntary humiliation and death to accomplish so great an object, he pronounced it '*good*' and called repeatedly at my place of business for me to read and converse with him on that interesting subject, and expressed a wish that he might have a bible, that he might learn to read it himself; but a bible could not be found for sale in Chicago at that time, and a few months later I purchased one for him in New York and presented it to him. He declined to receive it without paying for the same and expressed regret that he had not known more of this divine message in his earlier days. He was frequently seen in our meetings until his tribe were required to leave this section of country, which they had ceded to the government, and enter upon lands designated for them in the Far West."—Extracts from an address by Philo Carpenter to the First Presbyterian Sunday-school in 1868.

increased the population rapidly, and Mr. Carpenter's business prospered. He soon removed to a larger store vacated by George W. Dole, also a log-house, and enlarged his stock with other kinds of goods. He bought a lot on South-Water Street between Wells and La Salle and there built a frame-store, the lumber for which was brought from Indiana on a "prairie-schooner" drawn by ten or twelve oxen.*

In 1833, he also built a two-story frame-house on La Salle Street opposite the court-house square, and having been married again in the spring of 1834, to Miss Ann Thompson of Saratoga, New York, he made there his home. Seven children were the fruit of that marriage, only two of whom, Mrs. W. W. Cheney and Mrs. Rev. Edward Hildreth, and the children of a third, Mrs. W. W. Strong, survive him.

In 1842, he removed his business to 143 Lake Street; the next year he sold out to Dr. John Brinkerhoof; some of the fixtures are thought to have remained in use till consumed in the great fire of 1871. After the sale, Mr. Carpenter confined his business to the care of his real estate, which had then become considerable, as he had appropriated all his spare funds to its purchase. He had sublime faith in the future value of Chicago real estate. He early acquired a quarter-section, ten miles up the north branch of the river,† and another quarter on the

* "Indiana contributed many customers, and it is noteworthy that in those primitive days the Hoosiers never wanted a bill; they would buy a pair of boots, pay for them, carefully pocket the change, set the 'understandings' in one corner, then buy perhaps a bolt of sheeting, pay for that in the same way, and so on to the end of a list of a dozen or more articles. These were curious customers, but they were a peculiar people. One of them came into the store one day shaking with fever and ague, which was also a peculiar western institution, and announced as he sat down on a candle-box, 'Say, stranger, I'm powerful weak.'"—"Leading Men of Chicago," page 8.

† Col. Richard J. Hamilton, Capt. Seth Johnson, Lieut. Julius J. Backus Kingsbury, and Philo Carpenter bought each a quarter-section of timber-land

west side, which he afterward subdivided as Carpenter's Addition to Chicago. It is that part of the west side now bounded by W.-Kinzie Street on the north, Halsted on the east, W.-Madison on the south, and a line between Ann and Elizabeth on the west. He went to Washington and secured a patent for this quarter-section signed by Andrew Jackson, which his heirs still possess.* Few shared his sanguine expectations when he preëmpted this tract as the foundation of his fortune. "It was so far from the village." "It would never be wanted except for farm purposes, and was too low and marshy even for cultivation." "In the spring of the year it was often under water and could be crossed only by boat," and "there was little prospect that it could ever be plowed except by anchors." Rev. Flavel Bascom tells us that when he first came with his wife to Illinois and was being carried by Philo Carpenter in a two-seated buggy across the mud bottoms of West Chicago toward the interior, at one place Mr. C. stopped, pointed to a marsh and said: "Here I have preëmpted a quarter-section of land which I expect will make me rich some day." The young minister and his wife on the back seat exchanged significant glances at the visionary anticipations of the good deacon.

About 1840, Mr. Carpenter removed his residence to the west side, built a fine house as it was then thought, in

from Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, paying him two hundred dollars each, a dollar and a quarter per acre. This was the government price. The two lots, forty feet, he bought on South-Water Street, cost him seventy-five dollars. One lot on La Salle Street, 25 x 180 feet, he bought of Mark Beaubien for twenty-five dollars worth of goods. Beaubien had won this lot in a raffle, but he carefully concealed the fact from the Deacon till the bargain was completed.

* It was probably on that journey to Washington, which occupied three weeks, that he set out at the same time with an U.-S. officer who traveled on the Sabbath in his haste on public business, but the deacon kept his conscience as well as holy time, and tho' he apparently lost three days, he yet rode into Washington on the same train with the official.—Rev. Hildreth.

the middle of one block of his addition, which is bounded by W.-Randolph Street on the north, Morgan on the east, W.-Washington on the south, and Carpenter on the west. There I found him when I came to Chicago in 1856—one of the earliest acquaintances I made here thirty-two years ago. I could but admire the place, for he had tried, as he told me, to plant in that block every kind of tree and shrub found in this region, and he showed his good taste by allowing them all to grow naturally. Not one was trained into any fantastic shape, or deformed with shears. That was long the most prominent house on the west side. It has lately been removed and the entire block offered for sale by the heirs. It is greatly to be desired that it should be bought by the city for a park—a little breathing place of convenient access to the people amid many blocks of buildings. It should be improved after his plan and called Carpenter Park, as a perpetual memorial of the good pioneer. And better still, if some tablet could tell that this was the resting-place of good men and women coming to the West for its salvation from barbarism, intemperance, and infidelity, who were refreshed by the generous hospitalities of Mr. Carpenter and his worthy wife, and sent on their way with a hearty God speed.

And another tablet should tell of it as the hiding-place for the colored emigrant from the South, whom this officer on the underground railroad piloted by night to Canada-bound vessels, as they were seeking that liberty which was then denied them under the stars and stripes.*

There he lived till 1865, when with the hope of benefitting his wife's health, he removed to Aurora, Ill., where she died six months afterward;† and for the last twenty years of his life he was alone in his pilgrimage.

* Two hundred fugitives it is said were thus helped to a land of liberty, and it is not known that one of them was ever recaptured.

† Only the angels know how much of the usefulness of this good man was

He returned to the city to spend the last twelve years, but not to the historic block. His health was delicate. He was unable to undertake new business, but lived quietly with his children till Aug. 7, 1886, when he passed to his eternal home.

wrought by the prayerful influence of his sainted wife, Ann Thompson Carpenter. So symmetrical was her character in all the womanly virtues, so exalted her standard of personal piety, that one, who had known her intimately for years, hesitates to tell the simple truth lest the words find no credence. There was an indescribable charm in the house over which she presided, and the wanderer and the wayfarer always found a place and a welcome. In all the trials of life, in the sickness and death of three children there was the same unmurmuring spirit, the same loving submission to the will of God. In perfect sympathy with her husband in every work of reform, she was ever fearful that his zeal should find some hasty utterance that would wound the feelings of another. He was a person of strong convictions, she, of deep sympathies. While he denounced sin, her mantle of charity was covering the sinner. It is not too much to say, that in her sweet spirit every Christian grace had special prominence.

As one, who in the press of life,
Had touched the Garment-hem,
Then passed away, as angels may,
To wear a diadem;
As one belov'd, at whose approach,
The gates wide open spring,
We dream of thee, thus welcomed home,
O! Daughter of the King.

The dead, departed in the Lord,
Are blest beyond compare;
Yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest
From all their toilsome care.
While, one by one her works of love
The angel reapers bring,
How blessed her reward above,
This daughter of the King!

Yet long and selfishly we mourned
That Heaven's high behest
Had quenched the love-light in our midst,
And lulled her to her rest.
The breath of song and tenderness—
The sweetest notes of Spring,
Recall thy spirit loveliness,
O! Daughter of the King.—"PAULINA."

I have briefly followed the outline of his life with the intention to go back and speak more particularly of his characteristics and his labors:

1. He was a pioneer of the best things. His coming here at that early day, that prayer-meeting the first evening, that first organization of a Sunday-school have already been mentioned. When Rev. Jeremiah Porter was considering the question of accepting a call to labor in Fort Dearborn, he was told, "There is one good man there who has organized a Sunday-school." He came, found the man and the school, and began his labors. Mr. Carpenter and a few others, under the guidance of the young minister, formed the first church here, the First Presbyterian, of which he was chosen one of the elders. The date of the organization was June 26, 1833. Dea. Carpenter wrote and circulated the first temperance pledge, and delivered the first temperance address. A meeting had been arranged, and a lawyer, Col. Richard J. Hamilton, engaged to deliver the address, but at a late day, the lawyer declined to speak. Our pioneer hastily prepared himself and filled the gap.*

He was one of the first officers of the Chicago Bible-Society, founded August 18, 1835.

He early interested himself in the cause of education, earnestly opposing the sale of the school-section in Chicago, and pleaded that only alternate blocks should be put on the market. Other counsels prevailed, and all but four blocks of the tract, bounded north by Madison, east by State, south by 12th, and west by Halsted Streets, were sold for less than $40,000 dollars. But few years

* "He used to laugh about the literary quality of the address, but the house was crowded and not a few items of interest have survived."—Hildreth.

The meeting was held in the log-building of Rev. Jesse Walker. An Indian chief was persuaded to practise total abstinence and appeared to be a sincere Christian while he remained under Mr. Carpenter's influence.

OF
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

elapsed before the 138 blocks sold were worth many millions. For ten years he was a member of the board of education. His connection did not cease till his removal to Aurora in 1865. On his return from Europe in 1867, he found one of the palatial school-houses of the west side, at Centre Avenue, corner West-Huron Street, named in his honor, the Carpenter School, for which he gave $1000 as an endowment for text-books for indigent children.

The first "one-horse shay" that made its appearance in Chicago in 1834, contained Philo Carpenter and his newly-married wife. The first dray was introduced by him; and the first platform-scales, which are now in possession of Daniel Warne of Batavia, Ill., which can weigh up to 750 pounds; also the first fire-proof safe.

He was one of the original members of the Third Presbyterian Church, formed July 1, 1847, and was one of its elders. He was one of the first corporate members of the Chicago Eye-and-Ear Infirmary, and one of the founders of the Chicago Relief-and-Aid Society. He was the leader in the formation of the First Congregational Church in May, 1851. And as that event gave him special prominence in that denomination and in the country, the circumstances are worth noting. He had long been interested in the anti-slavery cause. He was a patron of the *Alton Observer*, Elijah Parish Lovejoy's paper; he helped to establish Zebina Eastman's paper, the *Western Citizen*, here in Chicago. His activity in behalf of fugitive slaves has been already mentioned. He was a delegate to the Cincinnati convention, held in April, 1850, which resolved:

"That the friends of pure Christianity ought to separate themselves from all slaveholding churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary organizations that are not fully divorced from the sin of slave-holding; and we who may be still in connection with such bodies, pledge ourselves

that we will, by the aid of Divine grace, conform our action in accordance with this resolution, and come out from among them, unless such bodies shall speedily separate themselves from all support of or fellowship with slaveholding."

He was not a man to vote for a resolution in public and forget all about it in private, and as the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, which met in Detroit in May of that year, failed, in Deacon Carpenter's view, to take right action, he led the church to adopt a minute that they would not be represented in presbytery, synod, or general assembly till right action was taken. This minute* was, of course, entirely unpresbyterial and unconstitutional. Nevertheless it was adopted by forty-eight out of sixty-eight resident members. The presbytery, after giving them a little time to rescind their vote, were compelled to treat the majority as seceders, and to recognize the minority as the Third Church—an act supposed to be ecclesiastically right, although it involved turning the majority of the church out of the building they had in great part erected, and to which they thought themselves justly entitled.†

* Minute of the majority of the Third Presbyterian Church in reference to fellowship with slave-holders: 1. *Resolved*, That this Church holds that in the language of the Scripture, God hath made of one blood all nations of the earth. 2. *Resolved*, That chattel slavery is blasphemous toward God, inhuman and cruel to our fellow-men, and that Christians are especially called on to discoutenance it and and have no fellowship with those who participate in its abominations. 3. *Resolved*, That this Church are dissatisfied with the present position of our general assembly on the subject of disciplining those guilty of holding their fellow-men in bondage; that their last acts at Detroit have been construed to represent black or white as suited the different sections of the church. 4. *Resolved*, That this Church, so long as this vascillating policy is pursusd, hereby declare their determination to stand aloof from all meetings of presbytery, synod, and general assembly, and thus, as they believe free, and relieve themselves of all responsibility."

† "History of the Chicago Presbytery," pps. 10–11. "At a meeting of the presbytery, called to investigate the difficulties in the Third Presbyterian Church, May 2, 1851, it appeared that a majority of that church had voted

There was, however, an addition to the church which the Deacon had himself built for a session-room, which had not been turned over to the trustees. He therefore gave notice that Divine service would be conducted as usual in the session-room.*

A council was soon called, and the First Congregational

to stand aloof from all meetings of the presbytery, synod, and general assembly, so long as the assembly should maintain its then present attitude in relation to slavery. A committee appointed to confer with the church found that the majority would neither rescind their resolution of withdrawal, nor consent to an amicable separation and an equitable division of the property, and so reported. Therefore the presbytery appointed a committee, Rev. Henry Curtis, D.D., chairman, to consider the whole matter and report. The committee in due time reported that in their judgment the action of the majority of the church involved secession from the Presbyterian church; and that the majority by this action and by refusing to rescind their resolution, did hereby disqualify themselves to act as members of the Presbyterian church, and recommended that the session, *viz:* the pastor and those elders who did not vote for the resolution aforesaid, be directed immediately to inform the majority that if any of them still wished to walk in fellowship with this church under the constitution of the Presbyterian church, their wish should be granted; and that those who should not express such wish within two weeks, be regarded as adhering to their previous action and the session be directed to strike their names from the roll of the church." This report was, after full discussion, adopted.

The records of the presbytery show that there was a proposal to end the strife in the Third church by an amicable division of the church and its property. But as the difficulties of the majority were not with the minority, but with the whole church as represented by the general assembly, no division of the Third church could meet the case; moreover, as the majority were declared to have disqualified themselves to act as members of the Presbyterian church, how they could have been received into the presbytery as perhaps a Fourth church does not appear. They were also exhorted by presbytery to study the things that make for peace," etc. The inspired precept, however, "first pure, then peaceable," restricted such studies. There is no record of any proposition to divide the property after the majority decided to become congregational in polity. In fact the minority retained it all.

* While the divided congregation were worshiping, a part in the audience-room and a part in the session-room, one family at least was divided, and a young man was asked on his return: "Well! how did you get along in the kitchen to-day?" "Very nicely," he replied. "The best things all come from the kitchen."

Church of Chicago was formed, May 22, 1851. The names of Philo Carpenter and Ann Carpenter stand first and second on its roll of members. He was elected deacon, and retained the office till he removed to Aurora, and after his return was made deacon *emeritus*.*

Of two wooden church edifices erected for their accommodation, largely at the expense of Deacon Carpenter, one which was occasionally besmeared and called "Carpenter's nigger church," was burned to the ground on a Sunday night after Rev. Joseph E. Roy, who had just come from an Eastern seminary, had preached in it his maiden western sermon. Whether the fire was communicated by a spark from the young man's discourse, or by an incendiary, or was purely accidental, does not appear. The other on Green Street, near West Washington, was soon outgrown—Rev. Geo. W. Perkins was then the popular preacher—and a permanent house of rock-faced stone

* From records of the First Congregational Church, Wednesday evening, July 19, 1882. At the prayer-meeting this evening, on motion duly made and seconded, the Church by a rising vote unanimously adopted the following:

Whereas, Our brother Philo Carpenter, has just completed fifty years of residence here, during which time all that is now called Chicago has come into existence, and all the history of the city has been made; and

Whereas, In addition to his public and private life and labors, for which we in common with all our fellow-citizens do him honor, we desire to make grateful special mention of his relationship to this church: therefore,

Resolved, That we recognize iu him the Father of this church, not only as first member on its records, but the one who above all others is to he regarded as its founder and its earliest benefactor and friend.

Resolved, That we put on record our appreciation of his faithfulness to principles of right which led to the formation of this church, and our most hearty congratulations that his life has been spared, not only to see the feeble church of thirty years ago become the strong body it now is, but also to see the Nation adopt the principles he then labored and suffered for, by the putting away of slavery.

Resolved, That this church in appreciation of its regard for Deacon Carpenter and of his long connection with it, does hereby elect him Deacon *Emeritus* for life, and the clerk is hereby instructed to forward to him a copy of this action duly attested. (Attest) J. W. SYKES, Clerk.—F.

was put up on the corner of West-Washington and Green streets. Deacon Carpenter advanced most of the money, and waited on the society many years for its repayment without interest.*

A little later he united with Joseph Johnston, Rev. John C. Holbrook, and Chas. Goodrich Hammond in starting the first denominational paper here, the *Congregational Herald.* In 1855, he was one of the incorporators of the Chicago Theological Seminary, and for many years was one of its board of directors and chairman of its executive committee. He afterward engaged with great zeal in opposing secret, oath-bound societies. In early life, before he came West, his indignation had been aroused by the abduction in Western New York, of William Morgan, for publishing a little book revealing the secrets of Freemasonry. The abducted man was never found or heard of after, and was supposed to have been murdered. The perpetrators of the crime escaped justice, and public sentiment held the Masonic fraternity responsible for their escape. Deacon Carpenter suggested the establishment of a paper to oppose all such secret societies, and gave the money for the publication of the first number of the *Christian Cynosure,* and provided headquarters for the movement at a cost of $20,000. He bought for gratuitous circulation 1000 copies of Finney's book on Masonry, and wrote and distributed tracts of his own on the subject. Few of his colaborers in other reforms partook of his zeal in this, and the methods of some of the friends of the reform he could not approve, yet he continued the war undaunted while he lived, and provided in his will for its continuance after his death.

Surely we have here specifications enough to show that

* A second stone building was erected at the south-west corner of West Washington and Ann Streets in 1870; destroyed by fire January 16, 1873, rebuilt and is now occupied by the church.

from first to last he was a grand pioneer of the best things.

2. Philo Carpenter was a wise man. With rare sagacity he foresaw the future of Chicago, discerning the great city through the small trading-post; and his confidence never wavered. He wisely bent his energies to the establishment of the most useful institutions for the coming city. His sagacious forecast for this trading-post is proved by its growth in a little more than half a century from two hundred souls to three-quarters of a million, and his judgment of the first institution needed has been confirmed by the establishment of nearly three hundred Sunday-schools in it, and more than four hundred in Cook County; our citizens have indorsed the church by founding more than four hundred of them of all kinds. That First Congregational Church has here some fifty junior sisters. The public-school has been approved by the creation of nearly one hundred of those temples of learning, which are the pride of the city and the Meccas of the children. The need of that temperance pledge is sadly evinced by our four thousand saloons still foolishly patronized; his opinion of slavery became the opinion of the Nation a quarter of a century ago. During the war, Deacon Carpenter and one of the elders who remained in the Third Church were reading together from the bulletin at the *Tribune* office, when the elder, giving him his hand, said: "Deacon, you were right and we were wrong." That Theological Seminary has sent out more than three hundred graduates, has more than one hundred regular students, and nine professors and teachers, some of whom have obtained a national reputation. Four or five other denominations have imitated the Congregationalists in their zeal for theological education in this metropolis of the West. As for secret societies, though our brother "received not the promise," he yet "died in the faith;" and we may

say "the end is not yet." The Masonic fraternity could not do now what it was accused of doing in 1826, without being swept from the land by a cyclone of public opinion. Who shall say that the good man could, on the whole, have more wisely used his time, his strength, and his money?

3. Deacon Carpenter was an honest man. The financial crash of 1837 found him an indorser on paper of unfortunate friends. He made no effort, as is often done, to evade his responsibilities, but borrowed the money and met the claims. When it became necessary to pay what he had borrowed, and money could not be procured, he spread out a full schedule of all his real estate, and allowed two disinterested men to select from any part of it what they deemed a fair equivalent for the debt. It is astonishing to note how much they selected, evincing, as it did, the immense depreciation of western lots and lands after 1837, *viz.*; 960 acres in Fayette County, Illinois, four and a half blocks in Carpenter's Addition, half a block in the School Section, three lots on Washington Street near the Chamber of Commerce, and a house and lot, his homestead on LaSalle Street, opposite the court-house—property that was soon prized at more than one million dollars—to pay a claim of $8600! However excessive he may have thought the award, he faithfully carried out the agreement. Probably the severest thing he ever said about the award was: "I should have thought they might have left me my home!"

My neighbor, the late James Ward, well known in connection with the public-school buildings, told me: "I located in Chicago against the earnest remonstrances of my father, who thought it a den of thieves, and could not believe there were any honest men here. I bought a lot of Philo Carpenter and partly paid for it. My father, hesitatingly, sent me from the East money to complete the

payment. I took the amount to Mr. Carpenter. He received and counted it, then took out his pencil and began to figure. I feared I had made some mistake, and asked him if there was not enough. He replied, 'Yes; more than enough, for there is a premium on Eastern money.' He computed the sum and passed it back. I wrote to my father that there was at least one honest man in Chicago."

A Milwaukee lawyer, who did not know him very well, once wrote him that through a defect in the conveyance he might recover possession of some property he had sold, which had greatly appreciated. He came out of his office holding the letter in his hand, with that look of scorn which meanness always evoked, and said to his wife: "Hear what a shyster lawyer has written to me." "Well, you will pay no attention to it, of course?" she replied. "This," said he, "is my answer: 'Sir, I made that sale in good faith, and in good faith it shall stand.'"

I do not find that Mr. Carpenter ever engaged in any of the questionable enterprises and speculations that abound here. He did not lend his name to the baseless mining, banking, insurance, and other schemes. He did not dabble in stocks. He was not in any combinations to corner the market and force up the prices of the necessaries of life. He did not operate on the Board of Trade, although, as it seems to some of us, a too-lenient public sentiment tolerates there what is not thought honest in the common walks of life.

He held a large amount of real estate, on which he put his own price—a higher price often than the estimate of his fellow-citizens. But this is not strange for one who had his remarkable faith in the future of Chicago, and who had seen those values arise from nothing. We think it not at all extravagant to point to him as an "Israelite, indeed, without guile."

4. Philo Carpenter was a benevolent man. Probably no object of charity, public or private, which he deemed worthy, ever appealed to him in vain. It is impossible to estimate the amount of his benefactions. They were a steady and ever-increasing stream, from the organization of that first Sunday-school in 1832, to the date of his last will and testament. No computation is known of the amounts he gave to the earlier churches with which he was connected, but it is known that he gave to the First Congregational Church, first and last, more than $50,000. To the Chicago Theological Seminary, he had given before his death more than $60,000, and in his will made it the residuary legatee of his estate, which, it is expected, will amount to not less than $50,000 more. To the American Home Missionary Society, the American Board, and the American Missionary Association he deeded, several years ago, each a three-story brick-house on Ann Street, available after his death. To the National Christian Association he had given property worth $40,000 or $50,000, and his will added $6000 to the objects it represented. Relatives and friends had been freely aided during his life, and were provided for after his death. One-quarter of all his real estate was given to benevolent objects in his will. As the gross amount was about $400,000, this turned $100,000 into the channels of benevolence.

5. Philo Carpenter was a modest man. He was always unassuming. He never put himself forward. When there were reproaches to meet and trials to brave, or burdens to carry he never was found in the rear; but when there were honors to gain he never crowded to the front. While a member of the board of education, he declined the presidency, and could be prevailed upon to accept only the vice-presidency. He never was elected to a civil office, and never ran for any.

In the church, though its founder and wealthiest mem-

ber, he never sought to control, never claimed any superiority over the poorest of his brethren. I can emphatically say that in all my intercourse with him I was never once made to feel that I was the poor man and he was the millionaire. Where no principle was at stake he was deferential to others, polite, courteous—in short the true Christian gentleman.

6. Some of you may be surprised to hear me speak next of his great moral strength.

A quiet, modest man, who pursues the even tenor of his way without noise, without bluster, without ostentation, seldom gets credit for his strength. People often forget that real power is best evinced by doing one's work easily, calmly, and uniformly. In all questions of reform or practical morality, everybody knew where Deacon Carpenter would be found. Nobody thought of the possibility of his yielding to the solicitations of the saloon, the fascinations of the private wine-cup, the excitement of the race-course, or the gamester's table. One instance of the kind would have brought all busy Chicago to a standstill, in perfect wonderment at what would occur next. Why so? How did it happen that with all the temptations of this great and wicked city, and so many lamentable examples of weak yielding to the strong current, Deacon Carpenter stood often alone, unmoved as old Mackinac, upon which the winds and waves of Lake Michigan come three hundred miles from the south and surround it, the northeasters from Lake Huron drive their floods into the Straits, the northwesters, roaring the three hundred and sixty miles down Lake Superior heap their waters high about it, but the little rock-rooted island stands as firm as when it was first discovered, some three hundred years ago!

Such examples of moral power are by no means too common in this generation. We do well to mark and

honor them. Doubtless other citizens of Chicago—Gurdon S. Hubbard, William B. Ogden, John Wentworth, J. Young Scammon, Roswell B Mason, Charles G. Hammond, and others—did more directly to establish business enterprises of various kinds in this city; but in laying the moral foundations on which so much of the real prosperity of a city depends, no man probably equalled Philo Carpenter. To do and say the right thing at the right time has ever been considered an important element of strength. The story is told that when, after a day of hard fighting and terrible suffering in the Wilderness, Gen. Grant summoned his officers to receive orders for the morrow, and all were thinking by what route they should retreat, they were astounded to receive the order: "Advance all along the line by break of day to-morrow morning!" When Gen. Lee heard of it he is said to have exclaimed: "The Federal army has at last found a general."

Smaller matters can illustrate great principles. When Philo Carpenter and his little band met a presbytery to whom ecclesiastically they were amenable, and who, backed by all the authority of the great general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, declared them "disqualified to act as members of the Presbyterian church, and no longer to be recognized as such," and his friends were wondering how they should avert or survive the terrible blow, they must have been astounded when he arose and calmly announced: "Divine service will be held in the session-room next Sunday at the usual hour." It might well have been said at that moment, "This little band has a great leader." For that simple notice was stronger than the whole general assembly.

7. Yet withal he was a man of peace. Radically as he differed from men, and earnestly as he sought reforms, he

had no personal quarrels. The entire absence of litigation during his long life is proof of his pacific disposition. He never sued a man, and he was never sued but twice in his life. One of them was about a dog, and the plaintiff was non-suited.

Musicians tell us that there must always be some discords in their anthems to make the music effective, and in theory I am greatly opposed to indiscriminate commendation of even the best men; and I frankly confess to you that I have sought for the needed discords in this anthem, but with less success than usual.

Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Carpenter was supposed to be deficient in business enterprise—especially that he did not improve more of his property, and provide himself with a greater income. But listen a moment to his own explanation: "I can't get money enough ahead, besides paying my taxes and assessments, to erect many buildings, for as soon as anything comes in, somebody wants it for a church, for a college, or for a seminary; or some friend gets into trouble and wants help in meeting a note, or releasing a farm from mortgage; or there comes some special appeal for our benevolent societies who are in straits, and the money seems imperatively needed elsewhere." In the later years of his life he made more improvements, but still left much unimproved property.

Philo Carpenter was sometimes called "a man of one idea," but the record we have rehearsed shows, we think, several ideas—as many, indeed, as most men have, and all good ones. They might perhaps all be reduced to the "one idea"—that grand one of loyalty to the right, loyalty to God and humanity. Oh! that we had many more such men with "one idea." He was sometimes called "an extreme man." If that means that he was in the front rank of progress, at the head of God's marching columns, we accept it as true, and no reproach, but a great honor.

Without such men how could there be any advance in the church or the world? Events have proved that he was only ahead of his generation. Almost every one of his positions, once thought extreme, have been reached and occupied by his brethren and his fellow-citizens.

But the good man was very far from thinking himself perfect, and he would be the first to frown upon us if we should presume to represent him as without fault. We will only quote the closing sentence of the minute adopted by the First Congregational Church soon after his decease: "Without claiming perfection for our brother, we would rejoice in the invaluable legacy to this church of his faith and life, and praise our God that by His grace, No. 1 on our rolls, went in and out before a great and wicked city for half a century and left a record unstained."

Deacon Carpenter was a man of commanding presence, in stature about six feet high; not being corpulent and continuing erect to the end of his life he seemed even taller. His normal weight was about one hundred and seventy-five pounds. He had a light complexion, dark-brown hair, a mild blue eye, a countenance singularly benignant, pure, and inspiring confidence. No one could see him and not trust him. As he never drank intoxicants, nor used narcotics, there were no blotches to mar his face, which grew more serene and heavenly to the last.

The afflictions which deprived him of his wife, and reduced his seven children to two, and brought severe illness upon him, diminished his strength and made him in his last years somewhat averse to society. He did not appear much in public, but as long as enough strength remained he attended public worship and retained to the last his interest in "the dear old First Church," as he lovingly called it. An affection which the church reciprocated, as we have said by making him Deacon *Emeritus*.

The Chicago Congregational Club, the first year of its

existence, 1883, elected him an honorary member, "in recognition," as they said, "of his more than fifty years of residence in this city, of his leadership in its early religious enterprises, of his faithfulness to the cause of freedom when it cost greatly to be faithful, and especially in grateful recognition not only of his being the first member of our First Church, but of his being the father of Congregationalism in this city."*

On the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in Chicago, July 18, 1882, a large number of our citizens called at his residence to do him honor. His death, August 7, 1886, resulted from a severe cold taken some time previously, terminating in congestion of the lungs. His body was embalmed and the funeral was postponed till August 15, awaiting the arrival from California of his daughter, Mrs. Rev. Edward Hildreth.

In the absence of Rev. Dr. Goodwin, the pastor, the funeral was conducted by Rev. Dr. Franklin W. Fisk of the Chicago Theological Seminary, assisted by Rev. Drs. Flavel Bascom, and Joseph E. Roy, and Rev. H. L. Hammond. The deacons of the church were pall-bearers, with E. W. Blatchford, Carlisle Mason, Judge Wm. W. Farwell, Dr. John H. Hollister, and Professors Hugh M. Scott and Jas. R. Dewey, honorary pall-bearers. A very large congregation was in attendance, including especially the old residents of Chicago. The services were short, as a further memorial service was anticipated after the return of the

* "The Chicago Congregational Club, March 21, 1883.

Dea. PHILO CARPENTER, *Dear Sir:*—At the meeting of the Club last evening, at the suggestion of the executive committee, the following was adopted:

Resolved, That in recognition of his more than fifty years of residence in this city, of his leadership in its early religious enterprises, of his faithfulness to the cause of freedom—when it cost greatly to be faithful, and especially in grateful recognition not only of his being the first member of our First Church but of his being the father of Congregationalism in this city we do hereby elect Dea. Philo Carpenter an honorary member of this Club.

J. W. SYKES, Secretary. C. G. HAMMOND, President.

pastor. They included, however, the reading of a very cordial appreciative letter from the First Presbyterian Church,* of which Mr. Carpenter, as already told, was one of the founders and first elders, and the singing of a touching hymn that had been a favorite of Mr. Carpenter, of which a manuscript copy was found in his memorandum book after his death:

"This is not my place of resting,
Mine's a city yet to come;
Onward to it I am hasting,
On to my eternal home.

In it all is light and glory,
O'er it shines a nightless day,
Every trace of sin's sad story,
All the curse hath passed away.

There the Lamb our Shepherd leads us
By the stream of life along,
On the freshest pastures feeds us,
Turns our sighiug into song.

Soon we pass this desert dreary,
Soon we bid farewell to pain,
Never more are sad or weary,
Never, never, sin again."

* "At our meeting in the First Presbyterian Church, last evening, notice of Deacon Carpenter's funeral was given. Eulogies were given of his grand and noble life, his spotless character as a Christian gentleman, and his great benovelence and usefulness as a citizen, through all the trying periods of our city's history were acknowledged by all.

It gives us great pleasure as a church to send a committee to represent us at his funeral, and to extend to his family and his friends our sympathy and condolence. The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee: O. D. Ranney, James Hollingsworth, B. Chamberlain, H. M. Sherwood, H. W. Dudley, and D. W. Irwin.

The writer has known Deacon Carpenter more than thirty years, and were I to select an exemplary man, one whose life and character I could point to with pride, that life would be that of our dear brother Philo Carpenter."

CHICAGO, Aug. 11, 1886. D. W. IRWIN.

The appointed memorial service was held by the pastor after his return, early in September. Text, Prov. V., 7, "The memory of the just is blessed." His sermon on that occasion was extensively reported in the papers.

The mortal remains of this pioneer,* Sunday-school superintendent, church founder, deacon, abolitionist, reformer, philanthropist, and Christian brother, sleep in Graceland, but his spirit, who can doubt, is with the blessed on high.

Among the bequests of Deacon Carpenter† was one of

* Resolutions of Sunday-school Teachers at Farwell Hall, Chicago, Aug. 8, 1886:—*Whereas*, The officers and teachers of the Saturday noon-meeting, held in Farwell Hall, have heard of the death of Deacon Philo Carpenter, at the ripe age of 82 years, therefore,

Resolved, That we place on record our appreciation of his zeal and faithfulness in organizing the first Sunday-school in our city in the fall of 1832, of which he was the first superintendent.

Resolved, That we commend the example of his Christian activity and large benevolence through a long life as worthy of imitation by the young men of our city.

Resolved, That we extend our sympathies to his bereaved family who have a priceless heritage in the memory of his faith in and loyalty to Christ."

† "His estate was valued at, personalities $100,000; real estate from $400,000 to $500,000. The personal estate is to be divided between his two daughters and the children of a third; the real estate is to be divided into four equal parts, three of which are to be given to the heirs, and the fourth, after taking out some legacies, among which are $500 each to his old friends, Revs. Jeremiah Porter and Flavel Bascom, D.D., is to be devoted to religious and educational work as follows: to Oberlin College, $2000; Ripon College, $2000; Iowa College, $2000; Berea College, Ky., $5000; Chicago Theological Seminary, $2000; the library of the Chicago Theological Seminary, $1000; New-West Education Commission, $2000; Chicago Historical Society, $1000; Chicago City Missionary Soc'y, $2000; American Congregational Union, $2000; Illinois Home Missionary Society $1000; Camp-Nelson Academy, Ky., $250; Rev. Joseph E. Roy, in trust in opposition to secret societies, $2000; American Board of Foreign Missions, $2000; American Missionary Association, $1000; American Home Missionary Society, $1000; American Christian Union, $1000; to his daughters to be used in opposition to secret societies, $4000; Chicago Theological Seminary, to endow an alcove in Hammond Library, $5000; and the balance to the Chicago Theological Seminary."

$1000 to the Chicago Historical Society, which has been already paid over to the treasurer. The daughters, Mrs. Wm. W. Cheney of Chicago, and Mrs. Rev. Edward Hildreth of Los Angeles, California, now have the pleasure of personally presenting a bronze bust of their father. The cast for this bust was taken after his death by Lorado Taft of this city. From it one of marble, made in Paris, has been already presented to the Chicago Theological Seminary. This of bronze was cast by the American Bronze Company of Grand Crossing, Hyde Park, and is certainly a creditable work of art that will be recognized at once by all who ever knew Deacon Carpenter. If any miss the benignity of his expression and the kindness of his mild blue eyes, the difficulty of reproducing these things in bronze must be remembered. A photograph of the old Carpenter homestead will also be an object of interest now and hereafter.

SAMUEL STONE.

By Mrs. WILLIAM BARRY.

Read by BELDEN F. CULVER, before the Chicago Historical Society, Jan. 15, 1878.

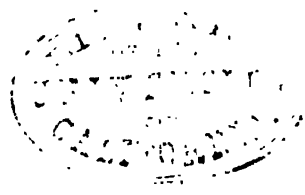
ON May 4, 1876, at the Grand-Pacific Hotel, Chicago, passed away from earth one whose life had been a succession of noble, disinterested deeds and generous sacrifices, known only to those who had been brought into near personal relations with him—Col. Samuel Stone. He was born in Chesterfield, Mass., December 6, 1798. Left an orphan at the early age of seven years, his paternal uncle, Samuel Stone of Oxford, Mass., took him to his home and became his guardian. For several years he attended the Academy at Leicester. When his school course terminated, his uncle placed him in a large wholesale store in Boston, where he remained until 1817—being then nineteen years of age. About this time, he left Massachusetts and went to Rochester, N. Y.; his father having possessed interests there connected with the original "Holland Purchase." When he became of age he took possession of his patrimony, and engaged in mercantile pursuits on his own account. He soon began to take a very active interest in the military service of his State, and after passing through successive grades, he was commissioned by Gov. De Witt Clinton, in 1830, as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of riflemen—a position which he held until 1834, when, by his own request, he was honorably discharged.

The following extracts from "Notes and Incidents of Rochester in the Old Time and New, by an Old Citizen," will show the estimation in which he was there held:—

Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

Sam'l Stone.

Dec. 6, 1798.—May 4, 1876.



"Sam. Stone was a jolly, good fellow. He now lives in Chicago—a very old man. Years ago he was a leading merchant in this city. The writer was a long time his agent, and knew his general kindness of heart, and that many poor and needy ones had his sympathy and lived on his generosity. Though it is many years since, our intercourse has been only though correspondence, and Mr. Stone is very aged, I send him my most cordial greeting, as one of the best of my old friends and most revered. May his remnant of life be peaceful and his death, when it comes, radiant with hope."

The writer adds in a foot-note:—

"Since this was written Samuel Stone has taken his place among the silent sleepers of Mt. Hope. Only a few weeks ago he died in Chicago, and his faithful daughter brought his remains to be deposited among kindred gone before, in our beautiful city of the dead."

His life in Rochester was always full of interest to him. Here came to him his greatest joy and his greatest sorrow. He married Miss Caroline Alcott, a lady spoken of by old citizens there as "one of the beautiful and accomplished young ladies of Rochester." She lived but few years after their marriage. Of four children born to them, two sons died in infancy, two daughters still survive. His great bereavements, together with financial disappointments and impaired health, led him to give up his connections there and devote some time to travel and recuperation.

About 1843, he went to Detroit. Here he entered actively into the new life about him, and aided in developing some important public interests. He was chosen secretary and treasurer of the Board of Internal Improvements, which embraced among other public objects what was then in their inception, and is now known as The Michigan-

Central and Michigan-Southern railroads. He filled these important and responsible trusts with the energy and fidelity which always characterized him. But the labors proved too arduous, and his health again gave way, forcing him to relinquish his post. In 1849, he removed to Milwaukee, where he associated himself with the late Ezra Cornell in the telegraph enterprise, and invested somewhat extensively in telegraph and railroad stocks. He assisted in building a telegraph line between Milwaukee and Chicago which, unfortunately, involved its projectors in expensive litigation on account of disputes about the right of way. His enterprises in Milwaukee proving unsuccessful, he abandoned them, and, taking the remnant of his fortune, removed to Chicago in 1852. Here he continued to live until his decease, with a daughter, who had accompanied him with filial devotion, through all the vicissitudes of his changeful fortunes.

Having no special business of his own, and always earnest and active, he at once devoted himself here, as he had done elsewhere, in his energetic but unostentatious way to great public objects of interest—chiefly historic, scientific, and humane; rendering material aid when it was in his power to do so, and, when that failed him, giving counsel and personal effort.

After the organization of the Chicago Historical Society, in 1856, he was one of the first to visit its rooms, and was the bearer of one of the first books presented to its library—a valuable and rarely-obtainable work on the "Antiquities of Wisconsin," by his brother-in-law, Increase A. Lapham, published by the Smithsonian Institute.

This became an introduction to long and unremitted services in various ways for the benefit of the Society and in aid of the librarian, to whom he became personally attached in a friendship that continued during the remainder of his life.

In March, 1867, he was elected resident member of the Society, to whose various interests he continued to devote himself actively and gratuitously. Probably no one better than he comprehended and appreciated the original plan, purpose, and scope of the librarian's operations. He was especially helpful in arranging the rapidly-increasing material, thus relieving the details of the librarian's labors and giving him more time for his special work of collection and correspondence.

In order to facilitate his labors for the Society, and to enable him to act in the absence of Mr. Barry, the principal secretary and librarian, Col. Stone was appointed, in 1858, assistant-secretary and librarian, and from that time Mr. Barry was enabled to make frequent journeys to different parts of the country, when some of the most important additions were made to the Society's collections.

In recognition of the long and devoted service rendered by Col. Stone, by a unanimous vote of the Society, March 15, 1859, his name was enrolled among the associate life-members, exempting him from all charges and permitting him to retain his privileges as a resident active member.

As he was one of the first to assist in laying the foundations of the Society, so was he the last to leave the burning building with its priceless treasures when the great fire of October, 1871, swept them all away.

The following vivid account of his experience at that time was written in a private letter to Mr. Barry, then in Europe, dated March 26, 1872:—

"Between one and two o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, 1871, I was awakened by a violent ringing of my house-bell. On jumping out of bed I was told that the city was on fire. As soon as possible, I dressed and hastened from my house, No. 612 North-Clark Street. I went down to Clark-Street bridge, when I found that and everything to the eastward enveloped

in flames. I hastened at once to the historical rooms, where I found Mr. Wm. Cochrane, the librarian at that time, and who slept there, in the act of receiving trunks, boxes, bundles, etc., through the basement-door for deposit. Sparks of fire were then flying all about the building, and I told Mr. Cochran of the danger of allowing any more goods to be deposited there, especially such as were ignitible. I proceeded at once to take charge of the basement-door. Mr. Cochran went out, and as packages and bundles were brought, and I was urgently pressed to receive them, my sense of the danger and of my duty led me stubbornly to refuse to open the door. For this I received much abuse. As I could not close and lock the door, on account of some object outside which prevented, I was obliged to stand and press against it. After a few minutes Mr. Cochran called to me from the outside, saying that the sidewalk was on fire, and the janitor wished to come in to the basement hydrant for a pail of water. He was admitted, but I have no further recollection about him.

"The last person who came to the door was a Mrs. Stone, who cried to me with a loud voice, begging me to take a small box, which I did. At this time voices from without called to me that I was in danger. I then pitched a heavy trunk against the door to secure it as well as I could, and, seeing a window open in the north end of the basement, I mounted the upper shelf, on which were the newspapers, and lying on my back, I closed it with my feet. Here I observed in the rear the heavens full of flying sparks, and firebrands falling in yard. I hurried at once up one flight of stairs to the reception-room, and thence into the upper library-room. At this moment a terrible blast of wind, fire, and smoke filled the street, and the entire casement of the window was in a blaze, hanging like feathers on

every inch of the window. I immediately hastened down to the reception-room to get the record book, and the Lincoln proclamation,* which had been deposited there for safe-keeping by the Soldiers' Home, to whom it belonged. Not finding the record, I attempted to break the frame of the proclamation and take it out. But the frame was so stout it was not easily done, and just as I was making the attempt, there came another blast of fire and smoke, filling the whole heavens, and frightfully dashing firebrands against the reception-room window. I heard at the same time a chinking sound overhead, probably from the breaking in of the window or falling of the roof. Believing that a minute more in trying to save the proclamation would make it too late for my escape, I made for the basement-door, stamped out the fire from two bundles, pulled away the trunk, and attempted to go out, but the suffocating smoke outside prevented. I tore open a third smoldering bundle, snatched from it a shawl —a camel's hair it was—covered my head, and sprang out with as much speed as possible. Glancing around, I could see the steps overhead, the sidewalks, front fences, Mr. Girard's cottage, and every building south, one mass of flames, while firebrands were flying in every direction. My only way of escape was by the rear of Mr. Girard's cottage. I had no time for the gate, but with a bound sprang over the low picket-fence into North-Dearborn Street. Just then a blaze of fire struck me with such force I felt it to my skin. I dropped my burnt shawl and

* This, the original copy of the emancipation proclamation, with all of its interlines and erasions, had been donated by President Lincoln to the North-western Fair, for the sanitary commission, held in Chicago, Oct. 26, 1863. Mrs. Thomas B. Bryan, president of the Soldiers' Home, purchased and presented it to that institution; and "to create a fund for the erection and maintenance of a permanent Home for Sick and Disabled Soldiers," permitted *fac-similes* to be taken and sold. At a subsequent meeting of the board of managers it was decided to place it in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society.

ran toward Erie Street, a poor bellowing cow with a scorched back following me through North-Dearborn Street; another blast of wind and flame and the poor cow was out of sight in the dense smoke. Such was the force of the blast I purposely dropped down upon my hands to prevent being blown over. After this, I mounted some high, stone steps on Erie Street, in the rear of the historical building, to take a last look of the destruction of our fifteen years' labor of valuable gatherings. The entire building, and everything surrounding it, was one mass of flames, the fire burning every brick apparently, as there was no woodwork on that side of the building. It was a painful sight to see it. The heat becoming too intense to bear, I was obliged to leave. There were no persons near me—every house was abandoned. As I came to the corner of North-Dearborn and Erie streets from the historical building, I saw a woman running directly east into the fire. I have since been told a woman was found there burned to death. At this moment a great blast of wind and fire and smoke—the blaze being apparently about two or three hundred feet in length and about one hundred and fifty feet in height—went over me to the right, and passing over two entire blocks, poured the full volume into the top of the spire of the Church of the Holy Name. In an instant the top was in a blaze. There were times when I saw buildings melt down in from three to five minutes. Such sights I never saw before. Had I known the speed and the heat of the coming fire, I could have left my post at the basement-door earlier, and could have secured the records and proclamation, but it was beyond all my experience. The fact of the Mrs. Stone, above-mentioned, calling me by name and giving her own name in the hearing of persons near her, probably gave rise to the rumor through the press that, 'Old Col. Stone and wife perished in the flames.'

"In regard to others having taken shelter in the building, if there they would have been seen by me, unless they were hidden in the lecture or wash-room. It is fair to presume that I was the last person that left the Historical building. I have given all the facts that I can remember from the time I entered the building until I left. I do not wish to come into any controversy with others, nor to have my letter appear sensational to call out sympathy, but to be credited, if thought worthy, after reading the above statement.

"Very truly yours,

"SAML. STONE."

One of the first telegraphic despatches announcing the ravages of the fire reported that Col. Stone and wife, Dr. Joseph W. Freer, and others—fifteen in all—had perished in the flames of the Historical building. A few days later, when he with a party of friends went to visit the ruins, then guarded by some of Gen. Sheridan's troops, on account of the treasures that had been deposited there during the fire, he was asked if he had any interest there —if he were looking for anything. "Yes," he replied, with his characteristic facetiousness, "I am looking for my ghost. They say I was burnt up here."

After leaving the burning building of the Historical Society, instead of returning home he went at once to the Eye-and-Ear Infirmary, rescued two of the books of record, and assisted many of the blind to escape. He then went home, and, in a state of extreme exhaustion but great excitement, cried out: "The Historical building is gone!" This was his all-absorbing thought.

Devoted as he was to the success of the Chicago Historical Society, he was scarcely less interested in that of the Chicago Academy of Sciences. One can not more briefly or pertinently speak of his relation to that institution than by quoting from its records the tribute deserv-

edly rendered to him after his death, which is as follows:—

"This Academy is again called to mourn the loss of one of its most valuable members in the death of Col. Samuel Stone. For several years he has been one of its most liberal supporters, contributing freely of his money to sustain it, and presenting to its collections one of its most costly and important fossil specimens. If possible, always present at its meetings, his wise counsels and apt suggestions added efficiently to the interest and the progress of this institution; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Academy gratefully recognize the services of Col. Stone, and that the secretary be directed to spread this tribute to his memory upon the records of the Academy."

After the death of Col. John W. Foster, which occurred in 1873, appreciating warmly the services he had rendered to the Academy and to science in general, Col. Stone proposed that his bust should be placed in the museum of the Academy; and with his accustomed liberality at once subscribed five hundred dollars toward it—the amount required being twelve hundred. It will be remembered that since Col. Stone's death the bust has been completed and unveiled with interesting ceremonies.

It was through his generosity, also, that the sketch of Col. Foster's life, with its accompanying engraving was furnished to the "United States Biographical Dictionary."

Col, Stone was a member of the Chicago Astronomical Society, and a trustee of the Chicago Charitable Eye-and-Ear Infirmary before it became a State institution.* He

* From the foundation of the Infirmary, in 1858, till 1871, he was the secretary of the board of trustees. During this period he manifested a warm interest in the welfare of the institutiom by his regular attendance at the meetings of its officers, by his wise counsels, and by his gifts. He was ever interested in the labors of the surgeons, and expresed his sympathies with the patients whenever he met them during his private visits to the institution.

was also an active and generous member of the Illinois Humane Society.

It may not be inappropriate to state, as an illustration of his patriotism in advanced years, that in a published notice of his life it is related of him that early in the late civil war "he went into Camp Douglas, and there assisted in organizing and drilling the regiments—a gratuitous service, which he rendered with a skill acknowledged as unsurpassed."

Though not a scientist in any specialty, he was warmly interested in all scientific researches and discoveries. He never feared any conflict between them and the higher truths of the spiritual revelation, with which he felt they must go hand in hand—as all emanated from the same Source. He was, however, particularly fond of experimenting with the microscope and the electric battery, and though but an amateur, he pursued his investigations with the enthusiasm of an expert. He made the lake water a frequent matter of microscopic investigation, as also the stagnant deposits in drains and pools, so liable to affect unfavorably the city's health.

Col. Stone was a man of strong characteristics—sharp-cut and incisive, thus giving to each trait the appearance of a leading feature. But, perhaps, the most marked was his wonderful retentive and exact memory. He never forgot anything he ever knew, and what he knew he knew in such detail that his mind was a volume of unerring records of facts, events, and chronological dates, always open at the right page, making him a reliable arbiter of disputed questions.

His geographical information was of rare extent and accuracy. He often seemed to know more about places he had never seen, in all parts of the world, than those who had visited them, or had been born there. It is related of him that on one occasion he was conversing with a Lon-

doner, to whom he made some statements about the city of London, the accuracy of which the former disputed in a peremptory manner. The colonel said: "I know I am right." "When were you there last?" asked the Englishman. "I never was there, but I have read about it, and I am positive as to what I say." Returning home the Londoner investigated the matter, and discovered that the colonel was correct. Yielding manfully, as Englishmen do when they must, he wrote a letter of apology, and sent the colonel a beautiful chart of the city as a testimonal of his regard for a man who knew more about London, a place he had never seen, than one who was born there.

He was a keen observer of men, and scrutinized character with rare penetration. While his soul was full of sweet humanity, "with malice toward none and charity for all," he hated shams and pretension, and all sorts of crookedness. Too modest to assert his own claims, he was jealous of the rights of others, and loved to bring forward and aid unrecognized merit.

Such is a sketch of the outward life and circumstances of this good man. One always approaches the inner realm with timidity and reverence—especially that of one whose sensitive modesty so shielded it even from those nearest to him. Standing aloof from creeds and dogmas, he sought to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly. He visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and went about doing good with liberal hand. To be doing something for the world in which he lived was his delight, and the ample fortune he enjoyed during the latter part of his life enabled him to indulge his benevolent impulses.

If his name is not emblazoned on the tablets of fame —in the houses of widows and orphans, of the destitute and friendless—the angel has recorded it on the page with Ben. Adhem's, as "one who loved his fellow-men."

And while loving and blessing his fellow-men he sought

to find out God and His method in the works of creation. Born among the inspiring hills of Massachusetts, he early imbibed that love of nature which followed him to the end of his earthly career. And whether he regarded the heavens and called the stars by name, or viewed the great mountains and rivers of the far West, as it was his privilege to do a few years before his death, or studied the mysteries of a drop of water as revealed by the microscope, he sought in all the thought and method of the Creator, and pursued his researches with earnestness and enthusiasm. For many years before his death he was a great sufferer from painful physical infirmity. But this could never have been suspected by those who saw his active usefulness—heroic self-forgetfulness and devotion to duty.

His most striking moral characteristics may be summarized as unassailable integrity, fidelity in trusts, intense humanity, steadfastness in friendship, and absolute unselfishness.

He is gone from us. We feel no more the warm, friendly grasp of his hand. We hear no more the accents of his kindly, cheerful voice; but he has left a record without spot or blemish, and though dead, he yet speaketh in all that he was and all that he did, and the hearts of multitudes whom he blessed in his life respond in grateful remembrance.

PIERRE MENARD.

PIERRE MENARD was born Oct. 7, 1766, at Saint Antoine upon the river Chambly or Richelieu, in the Province of Quebec, in Lower Canada. The historians of Illinois who mention him have uniformly described him as a native of the City of Quebec, born in 1767.[1] But these statements are shown to be erroneous by the register of his baptism, still preserved in the parish church of Saint Antoine, which states that in 1766, on October 8, was baptized Pierre, born the day before of the legitimate marriage of Jean Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, and Marie Françoise Cireé, called St. Michel.[2] And the ante-nuptial contract between Pierre Menard and Therese Godin, found among his papers,[3] as well as the register of their marriage in the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, Ill.,[4] both signed by him, alike describe him as a native of Saint Antoine, in Canada.

The village and parish of Saint Antoine are situated in the Seignory of Contrecœur and County of Verchères, thirty-five miles from the City of Montreal, upon the north shore of the river Richelieu, and the place is usually

[1] Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," page 242; Montague's "Directory and Historical Sketches of Randolph County," p. 38; "History of Randolph, Monroe, and Perry Counties, Illinois," p. 306; Davidson & Stuvé's "History of Illinois," p. 297.

[2] Parish Register of Saint Antoine de Richelieu, October 8, 1766.

[3] Original contract in Chicago Historical Society's possession.

[4] Parish Register of Church of Immaculate Conception, Kaskaskia, Illinois, June 13, 1792.

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known as Saint Antoine de Richelieu.[1] This river, taking its name from the fort at its mouth, called after the famous cardinal, was also known as the Sorel, from M. de Sorel, who commanded at that fort;[2] and as the Chambly, from M. de Chambly, who was once in command of a fort built at the foot of the rapids on this stream. It has also been called the St. Louis and the St. John.[3]

Pierre Menard's father, Jean Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, was the son of Jean Baptiste Menard and Madeleine Reboulla, who were of the parish of Saint Hypolite in the diocese of Alis.[4] This diocese was probably that of Alais, in France, founded in 1694, and in the Province of Narbonne, in Southern France.[5] There is a village of St. Hypolite in this diocese, in the modern Department of Gard, which probably was the birth-place of Pierre Menard's father, who described himself as a native of Languedoc, in France, the ancient name of that region.[6] The younger Jean Baptiste was born in 1735, and was in the French service as a soldier in the regiment of Guienne. On February 14, 1763, when he was twenty-eight years old, he was married at Saint Antoine to Marie Françoise Cireé, then twenty-two years of age, daughter of Jean Baptiste Cireé, called Saint Michel, and of Marguerite Bonin of that parish. Of this marriage were born five sons, the two elder at Saint Antoine, Jean Marie on April 2, 1765, and Pierre on October 7, 1766. The three younger sons were born at St. Denis de Richelieu ou Chambly, opposite Saint Antoine, on the other side of the river Richelieu, to which place their parents had removed. Their names and dates

[1] Bouchette's "Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada," article St. Antoine. [2] Charlevoix's "History of New France," (Shea), III, 83.

[3] Bouchette's "Topographical Dictionary," article Richelieu.

[4] Parish Register of Saint Antoine, February 14, 1763.

[5] Letter of John Gilmary Shea, February 2, 1889.

[6] Letter of Mrs. Augustine Menard, February 5, 1889.

of birth were: Hypolite on January 8, 1770, Michel on January 11, 1772, and Jean François on January 26, 1775.[1] The family subsequently resided at Montreal, and at St. Philippe, La Tortue, and La Prairie, places in the neighborhood of that city.[2] Jean Baptiste Menard was in several engagements, and is said to have taken part in the campaign about Fort DuQuesne. When the Revolutionary war broke out, he joined the American forces and fought under Montgomery at Quebec.[3]

It was from Montreal that the young Pierre Menard went forth to seek his fortune, and found his way to Vincennes certainly as early as 1788. A letter to him from his father, addressed to Mr. Pierre Menard, clerk for Mr. Vigo at "Poste Vinsene," is indorsed by him as received April 28, 1788; and a letter from his mother, dated at Montreal, June 9, 1789, refers to a letter from him of July 6 of the year before. The mother's letter is addressed to Mr. Pierre Menard, called Brindamour, at the house of Mr. Vigo at Poste de Vinsenne.[4] These epistles and others from his parents, treasured by him to his death, breathe a spirit of the tenderest affection for the absent son, and those of his mother, especially, show the writer to have been a person of superior intelligence and education. She died at LaPrairie, a village on the south shore of the river St. Lawrence, nine miles from Montreal, September 19, 1807.[5]

Pierre Menard, while living at Vincennes in 1789, accompanied François Vigo across the Alleghany Mountains to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where they had an interview with President Washington in relation to the defence of the Western frontier.[6] He subsequently removed from

[1] Parish Register of Saint Antoine.

[2] Letters from Pierre Menard's parents in Chicago Historical Society's possession.

[3] Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 242; letter of Mrs. Augustine Menard, Feb. 5, 1889. [4] Letters *ut supra*. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

Vincennes to Kaskaskia, where he was married, June 13, 1792, to Miss Therese Godin, then nineteen years of age, daughter of Michel Godin, called Tourangeau, and Therése St. Gêmme Beauvais.* The civil contract relating to their property matters was entered into the same day before Mr. Carbonneaux, the notary-public of the County of St. Clair in the Country of the Illinois; and the original document, preserved among his papers, is an interesting instance of the late existence of French law and custom in this region. The marriage ceremony was performed at the church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, by the Rev. Father Saint Pierre. Among the witnesses were Gen. John Edgar and his wife Rachel Edgar, William St. Clair and his wife Jane St. Clair, and William Morrisson, all well-known names in the early history of the Illinois Territory. Mrs. Therése Godin Menard died in 1804, leaving four children.

On Sept. 22, 1806, Pierre Menard was married the second time, at Kaskaskia, in the same church, to Angelique Saucier, daughter of François Saucier and Angelique La Penseé, and granddaughter of François Saucier, once a French officer at Fort Chartres, who resigned and settled in the Illinois Country. The ceremony was performed by Donatien Ollivier, the priest of the parish.† Mrs. Angelique Saucier Menard was born at Portage des Sioux, March 4, 1783, and died February 12, 1839, leaving six children, and was buried in the Menard burial-ground at Kaskaskia.‡

During his long life in Illinois, Pierre Menard held many positions of trust and honor, among which were the following: October 5, 1795, he was commissioned a major of the first regiment of militia of Randolph County by Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory;

* Parish Register, Kaskaskia, June 13, 1792.

† Parish Register, Kaskaskia, September 22, 1806.

‡ Letter of Mrs. Augustine Menard, November 25, 1888.

August 1, 1800, he was again commissioned to the same office by John Gibson, acting-governor of the Indiana Territory; February 5, 1801, he was appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas of Randolph County by William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory; September 24, 1802, he and John Edgar were associated by the same governor with John Griffin, one of the judges of the territorial supreme court, on a commission of inquiry concerning crimes in the Territory; December 14, 1805, he was appointed by the commissioners of the land-office for the district of Vincennes, a commissioner to take depositions and examine witnesses within the County of Randolph; December 27, 1805, he was again appointed by Gov. Harrison one of the judges of the court of common pleas for Randolph County; July 12, 1806, Gov. Harrison appointed him lieutenant-colonel commandant of the first regiment of militia of Randolph County, a position formerly held by John Edgar; April 1, 1809, Meriwether Lewis, governor of the territory of Louisiana, appointed him captain of infantry in a detachment of militia on special service; May 6th, 1809, Nathaniel Pope, secretary of the Illinois Territory and acting governor, again appointed him lieutenant-colonel of the first regiment of Randolph County militia; April 2, 1813, he was made United States sub-agent of Indian affairs by John Armstrong, secretary of war; and on May 24, 1828, he and Lewis Cass were appointed commissioners to make treaties with the Indians of the Northwest by John Quincy Adams, president of the United States.* Of his territorial and state offices, and public services, and of his life and character, an interesting account will be found in the address of Hon. Henry S. Baker, delivered at the unveiling of the statue of Pierre Menard at Springfield, Ill., and printed herewith.

Two of Pierre Menard's brothers, Hypolite and Jean

* Original commissions in possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

François, followed him to Illinois and settled at Kaskaskia. The former was a successful farmer, and the other a famous navigator of the Mississippi. Both led useful and honored lives, lived to an advanced age, and both rest near their brother Pierre in the old cemetery at Kaskaskia.* A nephew, also, Michel Menard, having as well the family patronymic of Brindamour, who was born at LaPrairie, December 5, 1805, made his way to Illinois at the age of eighteen. For several years he was employed by his uncle Pierre in trading with the Indians. He obtained great influence among them, and was elected chief of the Shawnees. It is said that he almost succeeded in uniting the tribes of the Northwest into one great nation, of which he would have been king. In 1833, Michel went to Texas, was a member of the convention which declared its independence, and of its congress. A league of land was granted to him, including most of the site of the City of Galveston, which he founded, and where he died in 1856. It is related that the Indians said of him, as of his uncle Pierre, whom in many respects he resembled, "Menard never deceived us."†

Pierre Menard died at the good old age of seventy-seven years and eight months, on June 13, 1844, and was buried, June 14, 1844, in a vault prepared under his own supervision in the graveyard of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, at Kaskaskia. And the parish burial-record says: "Thither he was accompanied by an immense concourse of people."‡

His children by his first wife were:

1. Odile Menard, born at Kaskaskia in 1793; married in 1811 to Hugh H. Maxwell, a native of Ireland, deceased in 1832. She died October 8, 1862. They had twelve children, of whom two are living. Col. L. Maxwell of

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., p. 294.

† "Appleton's Cyclopædia Biography," IV, 295.

‡ Parish Register, Kaskaskia, June 14, 1844.

New Mexico, known in connection with the "Maxwell land-grant," was their son.

2. Peter Menard, born at Kaskaskia in 1797, married first Caroline Stillman, in 1830, at Peoria, where she died in 1847; and second, Emily Briggs, at Tremont, Ill., in 1850; she is still living with two children. He died in Tremont, November 30, 1871.

3. Berenice Menard, born at Kaskaskia in 1801, married in 1819 to François C. Chouteau, deceased in 1836. She died at Kansas City, Mo., November 19, 1888, at the age of eighty-seven years, leaving grandchildren, but no children surviving her.

4. Alzira Menard, born at Kaskaskia in 1802; married in 1824 to George H. Kennerly; and died at Carondelet, Mo., in 1885, leaving five children.

His children by his second wife were:

1. François P. Menard, born at Kaskaskia in 1809, and died in January, 1831.

2. Edmond Menard, born at Kaskaskia, February 8, 1813, educated at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmetsburg, Maryland, and died at Kaskaskia in July, 1884.

3. Matthew Saucier Menard, born at Kaskaskia, April 22, 1817; married at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., to Constance Detchemendy; and died September 29, 1832, at St. Louis, Mo., leaving no children.

4. Louis Cyprien Menard, born March 2, 1819; educated at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmetsburg, Maryland, and admitted to the bar at St. Louis, Mo., in 1843. He was married Oct. 15, 1845, to Augustine Ste. Gêmme, and died June 2, 1870, leaving his widow and six children.

5. Amédeé Menard, born in 1820, and died in 1844 at Peoria, Ill.

6. Sophie A., born November 13, 1822; married, in July, 1843, to John D. Radford of St. Louis, deceased in 1868. She died June 22, 1848, and none of her children survive.

E. G. M.

THE FIRST LIEUT.-GOV. OF ILLINOIS.

By Hon. HENRY S. BAKER, of Alton.

Read before the Illinois State Bar Association, at Springfield, Tuesday, Jan. 10, 1888.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Charles P. Chouteau of St. Louis, Mo., having presented to the State of Illinois, a statue of Col. Pierre Menard, the first lieutenant-governor of our State, we have met here for the purpose of unveiling that statue and of paying a becoming respect to the memory of the man whom it is intended to commemorate. By a joint-resolution of our legislature in 1885, it gratefully accepted the generous donation, on behalf of the State, and directed that the statue be placed in the state-house grounds. This being the first historic monument placed within those grounds, a greater degree of interest might, therefore, be taken in its erection than perhaps would otherwise attend it. In connection with the event, the duty which I have been called upon to perform, had been assigned to the late Elihu B. Washburne of our State. His untimely death, however, not only delayed this ceremony, but disappointed us all in that behalf and deprived him of an opportunity of expressing his thoughts upon the completion of an event so dear to his heart.

Why I have been called upon to supply his place, arises, I presume, from the fact that I had the good fortune of being born and raised in the old town of Kaskaskia, and in my boyhood days was personally acquainted with Col. Menard and his family, and therefore, if, perhaps, I could not perform this duty with equal ability, I could at least perform it with equal pleasure. For there is a witchery

attending the hallowed memories of old Kaskaskia; with it, the dreams of romance become realized and the prose of life transformed into poetry. It is a legend of the old place that, in those days, every man was brave and every woman beautiful.

Kaskaskia is the oldest town in the Mississippi Valley. It was founded in the year 1700, although visited prior to that by Marquette and Joliet in 1673, two hundred and fifteen years ago. By the right of discovery, France, during the reign of Louis XIV, acquired title to all our vast northwestern territory. At the close of the French-and-English War in 1763, all of that territory, with the Canadas included, was ceded to Great Britain. At the time of the cession, Vincennes was the centre of authority in the Northwest Territory — and so remained until 1809, when the Illinois Territory was carved out from it; and Kaskaskia made the capital of the new Territory. If but little is known, prior to this event, of old Kaskaskia, it is to be attributed to the quiet and peaceful virtues of its people; for the faults of men, and not their virtues, become the records of history.

In those rudely-refined days, when bravery was a quality to be respected and virtue a beauty to be admired, education was not regarded a necessity, much less a luxury. During that early period, there were but few schools or school-teachers. The priest of the mission was the principal teacher by whom the young were taught the rudest fragments of learning and the sublimest articles of faith. In connection with this portion of our early history, and which is germane to the immediate subject of this address, I may say that during that long time, extending over a century, as between the Indians, who owned and occupied the soil, and the Canadians, who came to make their homes among them, there were no troubles; their relations were the relations of peace and good-will. Wherever, the

Canadian made his appearance, the pipe of peace was presented as a token of good-faith, and the salutation was, "the sun is beautiful, Frenchman! and when you come to visit us all our tribes attend you, you shall enter in peace into all our cabins." History affords nothing more touching than this rude and friendly salutation. The first lesson which the French Jesuit sought to impress upon the Indian was, that the French King was their father and would care for them and protect them. Thus it was that the descendants of the proud aristocracy of the days of Louis XIV, dwelt in peace and harmony with the wild and rude Indian of our American forests.

To our shame be it said, that the red man of America never knew what it was to be cruel and merciless to strangers until he came in contact with Spanish pirates and British fortune-seekers.

At the close of our war of the Revolution, the confederated States of America acquired title to the northwestern territory, then claimed by Great Britain under the treaty of Paris, 1763. This, of course, did not embrace the Canadas; they still remained a part of the British Empire. Four years after the confirmation of the treaty of 1763, Pierre Menard was born near Quebec. He was the son of Jean B. Menard, an officer in the French-Canadian army; so that after all, it would appear that Col. Menard was a quasi-Briton, at least, that he was born a British subject. When he was some twenty-one years old, he left his home and went to Vincennes, then the capital of our entire northwestern territory. This was in 1787, the year of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States of America. Why he sought his home within the jurisdiction of our American Government is easily explained: next to France, he admired the people who had trampled the lion and the unicorn into the dust. While at Vincennes, he engaged in dealing in furs and pelts, and acting as an

agent of our government, in our relations with the Indians. After remaining at Vincennes some four years, he went to Kaskaskia in 1791, where he continued to reside up to the time of his death. In making his home in our American Republic, as was most natural, he made his home among those akin to him in nationality and religious faith. At Kaskaskia, he continued his old business, of trading in furs and pelts, and subsequently established one of the most extensive trading-houses in all our western territories, in connection with François Valle. Their boats and barges extended north to the land of the Dakotas and south to the Gulf of Mexico.

Col. Menard had resided, however, only a short time at Kaskaskia before the people began to recognize the quality of the man, and soon demanded of him duties other than dealings in furs and trading with Indians. He was a plain and modest man. What he did not know he did not assume to know. From his knowledge of himself he believed that he knew more in regard to the quality of furs than he did respecting the qualities of legislation— but the people who knew him better than he knew himself, thought quite differently, and as early as 1795, as appears among the records of Randolph County of our State, he held the office, in connection with others, of United-States justice and member of the court of common pleas, which office he continued to hold until 1803, when he was sent as a delegate to the territorial legislature, which sat at Vincennes. In 1809, Illinois was erected into a territory of itself, but it was not until 1812, that it had its own territorial legislature. That legislature was composed of two houses — a council and a house of representatives, the former consisting of five and the latter of seven members.

The territorial government continued from that time until the close of the year 1818, when Illinois was admitted as one of the states of our Union. During the entire

From a Photo. in 1884, by Thos. Smith, Chester, Ill. Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

PIERRE MENARD'S RESIDENCE,
KASKASKIA. ILL.

period of our territorial government, Col. Menard was the presiding officer of the council; that is, he was the second official in our territorial government. This makes a period of twenty-three years, during all of which time in the government of our western territories, Col. Menard occupied positions among the highest and most honorable known to the law. During all that wild and unsettled period he proved himself a man without a peer for the occasion.

Up to the admission of Illinois in 1818, as one of the states of our Union, and in the formation of our State government, there was no dividing sentiment as to the man who should occupy at least the second position in the formation of that government; and by universal acclamation, Col. Menard was declared to be that man. A difficulty, however, seems to have presented itself relative to his eligibility. The constitution of 1818 provided, that the governor and lieutenant-governor should each be at least thirty years old, and thirty years a citizen of the United States. Col. Menard was not naturalized until the year 1816, and therefore was not eligible to the office which the voice of the people called upon him to assume. The constitutional convention, however, was equal to the emergency, and in the schedule to the constitution it was provided, that any person thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States, who had resided in the State two years preceding the election, should be eligible to the office of lieutenant-governor. This provision was, of course, intended for the benefit of Col. Menard, and in it the convention only echoed the voice of our people. Was there ever such a tribute paid to a man?—and that, too, by the voice of a free and independent people? There is no precedent in history where the organic law of a free people has been changed or modified for the benefit of one not seeking the benefit of that modification. If there is any-

thing wanting to declare and perpetuate the high regard in which Col. Menard was held by those who knew him best, this schedule to the constitution of 1818, will remain greater and grander and more enduring as a monument to his memory, than the one we are this day unveiling. Columns, arches, and statues moulder and decay, and the memorial and the event are alike forgotten. Legislation is a memorial more enduring than either; coming ages can read it and ponder over the circumstances which gave it birth; it defies the crumbling mould of age and scorns the withered finger of time.

In September, 1818, Col. Menard was elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois on the ticket with Gov. Shadrach Bond, and in the October following, entered upon the duties of his office, which he held with credit to himself and honor to his State until 1822, when he was succeeded by Adolphus Frederick Hubbard of Gallatin County. During the time that Col. Menard held the office of lieutenant-governor, a series of laws were adopted for the government of our young State, which laws have, to a great extent, become the foundation of all subsequent legislation. That first and last legislature, held in the old town of Kaskaskia, was in session about two months, and at an expense to our state of only a few thousand dollars; it enacted 156 laws, out of raw material, at an expense that would not run a modern legislature over one week. The business of our legislature, in the days of Col. Menard, was to make necessary and salutary laws for the government of our people and then adjourn. The business of modern legislation would seem to be the reckless distribution of public funds and to see how long the body can remain in session without putrefaction.

During the time that Col. Menard presided over the senate of our first legislature, nothing remarkable, outside of the ordinary transaction of business, occurred until in 1821,

when the legislature created the State Bank of Illinois, and sought to induce the United States government to receive its notes as land-office money. Col. Menard had more common-sense than the entire legislature upon that subject, and was opposed to the whole scheme. He was emphatically a hard-money man, and had no faith in bank-note promises. Under our present system of national banks, his objection would not lie; for there is a difference as wide as the sea, between the wild-cat money of 1821 and the notes of our present national banks, based upon the faith of our national government. The measure, however, passed over his protest and became a law.

Gov. Ford, in his "History of Illinois," relates an anecdote respecting Col. Menard alleged to have occurred in the senate chamber upon the passage of the bill. The anecdote, to a great extent, must be one of Gov. Ford's own making; for no one seems to have been aware of it until related by him, and it certainly is not in keeping with the character of Col. Menard. He was too dignified and polished a gentleman to act unbecomingly while presiding over the senate. A man who had served in legislative bodies consecutively for twenty-three years—ten years of which as presiding officer over our territorial council—would scarcely be the man to perpetrate jokes while in the discharge of official business, or act in an undignified manner. He was too earnest a man for that. The absurdity of the joke is patent on its face; in legislative bodies bills are passed on a call of the ayes and nays and not on a *viva-voce* vote. This anecdote, no doubt, has its origin from a transaction which occurred, some time after the adjournment of the legislature, when in a controversy relative to the policy of the measure, he wound up the dispute by offering to bet one hundred dollars that the notes of our State Bank would never be received as land-office money. Offering to bet in those days was much like

it is at present—the unanswerable argument, and cut off all further debate. The language in which the anecdote is told, is equally not in keeping with Col. Menard, as he spoke the French and English languages correctly, and did not make a mongrel of it.

With the close of his term of office as lieutenant-governor, in 1822, closed the official life of Col. Menard. For twenty-seven years he had been a publie servant of our people, faithful, honest, industrious, respected, and loved by all; and when we reflect that his time, thus devoted, was not only detrimental to his personal affairs, but contrary to his tastes and wishes, it is not surprising that, when he sought repose in his quiet home, it was one of peace and beauty, with the blessing of our people upon him.

As a man, Col. Menard was greater than he was a politician. He knew nothing of the diplomacy of politics, he knew honesty and fair-dealing, and that is what political diplomacy seldom comprehends. "To the victor belong the spoils," was a lesson which he never learned at the chancels of his political faith. He was not familiar with the liquid language of office-seekers. His plain and solid thoughts were expressed in plain and solid language. The people and the poor understood him, and his wisdom and his virtues went with him, hand in hand, down the silent river of time. On his retirement from public office he devoted his time not less to his own private affairs than to the good work of charity among the poor and the unfortunate, and if there ever was in Illinois one who did more in that direction, his name has not been written.

Col. Menard was married to his second wife at St. Louis in 1806. She was Miss Angelique, daughter of François Saucier, a lady noted for her generous hospitality and her elegant and refined manners. Her charities were the gifts of silence; unknown to the world, they were dispensed with

a loving hand, to the poor and unfortunate. A true French lady, she could not forget her France nor the halo which shown around its throne. By this wife, Col. Menard was the father of five children, three sons and two daughters, all of whom are now dead. The last of his surviving children was Edmund Menard. His father had taken great pains in his education, and he graduated at one of the most learned universities. He was a man not only of learning, but of refined tastes. Years ago he served a session in our legislature, as a member from Randolph County; but disgusted, he withdrew from politics, and made a hermit's home in the decaying ruins of his father's mansion. Piece by piece the roof-tree fell; a few years ago he died, and nothing now remains of the old home and its people, except the ground upon which it rested, and their silent memories.

Col. Menard was a man of wonderful public enterprise, and the especial friend of schools and education. There was no movement in the direction of learning or of public morals in which he did not take an earnest interest. A true and faithful Catholic, he did not confine morals to the dogmas of the church, nor education to its teachings. He had a great and enduring faith in the ultimate greatness of this country, and a belief that that greatness was to rest upon the education and morals of its people; and that those qualities were not confined.

Col. Menard died at his home, opposite Kaskaskia, on the eastern bank of the river, in 1844, at the age of 77 years, and was buried upon the banks of that quiet river which flowed near his home.

Well might it be said of him:

> All private virtue is a public fund;
> As that abounds the State decays or thrives;
> Each should contribute to the general stock,
> And who lends most, is most his country's friend.

In those early days, before steamboats plied our Western waters, and when our traffic upon them was carried in keelboats and canoes; Kaskaskia, on the western bank of the river of that name, a few miles from where it joined the Mississippi, afforded one of the safest harbors and largest markets in our entire Northwest Territory.

The honest and simple-minded Canadian had no conception of boats being propelled by any other power than by the wind or by oars. No wonder, then, that when the first steamboat undertook to make a trip up the Kaskaskia River, the innocent Frenchman thought it was a sawmill. The only thing he had ever seen worked by steam was the sawmill at St. Vrain, a mile on the river above the residence of Col. Menard. An honest-hearted race of brave and hardy men; they did not know the difference between a steamboat and a sawmill; but one thing they did know and fully understand, and that was the difference between the noble generosity of poverty and the skimping grudge of millions of meanness. They were a people modest in their virtues, but heroic in their duties; they would divide their last pone with the needy, and yet fight the aggressor to the bitter end. In their silent graves, could they but hear the roar of our present trade, it is doubtful whether they would ever pray for a resurrection. The very river upon whose placid waters they paddled their light canoes, has become the bed of the wild currents of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and that beautiful and rolling peninsula whereon the old town was located, has become a desert island. The history of the world affords no parallel to the rapid and absolute desolation of old Kaskaskia. Towns and cities have gone down to ruin, but yet have left some traces of their former greatness. Not so with old Kaskaskia; the very earth upon which she stood has become a desert and a desolation. Night and ignorance have wrapped themselves around her, and she rests alone

in the memories of the past. It is scarcely beyond the life of those now living, when she was the most important place in our Western territories, the centre of trade in Illinois, the capital of our Territory, the capital of our State, and, with a population of about 3000 people, embraced a large proportion of the wisdom and learning, wealth, and elegance of Illinois. In 1824, more than a quarter of a century before railroads were known, Gen. Lafayette traveled over 800 miles to pay his respects to the people of that old town. No wonder that it has hallowed memories. In those halcyon days, she numbered among her people those not unknown to fame. There was Gen. John Edgar, the friend of Gen. Lafayette, and one of the largest landholders who ever resided in Illinois. There was Shadrach Bond, the first governor of our State, with his tall, majestic bearing, with a countenance severe, but a heart warm and generous. There was Pierre Menard, our first lieutenant-governor, whose virtues and whose memory we are this day seeking to perpetuate by the dedication of that statue we unveil. There was Judge Nathaniel Pope, our first delegate to congress, while we were yet a Territory, and by whose wisdom and perseverance we acquired the great city of Chicago. There was Elias Kent Kane, among the first and most illustrious of our United States senators, and who went down to the grave at his post of duty, in the early prime of his manhood. There was William Morrison, the rival of Col. Menard in mercantile enterprises and the baronial cultivator of land. There was Robert Morrison, the brother of William, who managed the transportation of our mails through the then almost untrodden forests of our State. There was Sidney Breese, not less illustrious as a senator in congress, than as a learned and accomplished jurist, one who during a long and laborious life as a justice of our supreme court, threw rays of light and beauty upon the rasping dogmas of the

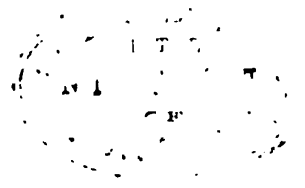
law. There was David Jewett Baker, who, by appointment from Gov. Edwards, occupied a seat in the United States senate, and who, during a long life devoted to his profession, brought to the learning of the law, the wisdom of its accuracy.

There were the St. Vrains, the elder brother of whom, for years, acted as the United-States Indian agent for Illinois, and was so cruelly murdered by his Indian guide during the Black-Hawk war. There was Edward Humphrey and Miles Hotchkiss, the receiver and register of the land office for our entire State. There was John A. Langlois, the financial agent of the firm of Menard & Valle. There was Edward Widen, the polished gentleman and enterprising merchant. There was Hugh Maxwell, the son-in-law of Col. Menard, an extensive merchant and a planter; the father of Lucien Maxwell, the only man who ever yet owned an estate in our government equal to the entire New-England States. There was Thomas Mather, who never could make his paper money, land-office money; and James L. Lamb, and Roberts, and Owens, and others who abandoned the doomed old town, and removed to Springfield when it was made the capital of our State.

There are hundreds of others, whose names might well be named in connection with the early history of Kaskaskia, but must, upon an occasion like this, be foregone. They were the pioneers in the early history of our Territory and of our State. They were the men, the "Illinois," who planted the germs of our present greatness, and it well becomes us that we should perpetuate their names in monuments and statues. The footprints which they have left behind them, should not be lost, and the memory of their virtues should be preserved. This statue, which we unveil is to represent and perpetuate the memory of one who did his part like a man and a hero in the fierce battles of life.

As I have heretofore said, by a joint-resolution of our legislature, it was directed that this statue should be placed upon the grounds surrounding the capitol of our State. It is the first to be placed upon these grounds, but should not be allowed to be the last. Monuments, and statues, and columns, and arches, are the open books of civilization; with their neglect and decay, ignorance and vandalism supply their places. Here in the beautiful city of Springfield, the centre and capital of our State, a beginning has been made to perpetuate the memories of those who have been true and faithful in the battle of life.

To Charles P. Chouteau of St. Louis, we are indebted for this historical statue. Let us not forget the example so nobly set before us; and let us, not from our plenty, but from a love for all that is noble and generous, raise monuments to the memory of our illustrious dead, so that future generations may read in them the wisdom of life and the immortality of its virtues.



PIERRE MENARD PAPERS.

From the originals in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

ANTE-NUPTIAL CONTRACT BETWEEN PIERRE MENARD AND MISS THERESE GODIN, CALLED TOURANGEAU, JUNE 13, 1792:

(Translated from the French.)

BEFORE the Notary Public of the County of St. Clair in the country of the Illinois. The undersigned, residing in the parish of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady of the Kaskaskias, the place of meeting, and the undersigned witnesses were present. In person Mr. Pierre Menard, bachelor, having attained his majority, legitimate son of Mr. Jean Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, and of Dame Marie Françoise Cireé Saint Michël, his father and mother, native of the Parish of Saint Antoine upon the river Chambli, Province of the holy diocese of Quebec in Canada, a trading merchant living in the said Parish of Kaskaskia, agreeing for himself and in his own name for one part.

And Miss Therese Godin, called Tourangeau, daughter of the late Mr. Michël Godin, called Tourangeau, and of Dame Thesese Ste. Gême Beauvais, her father and mother, living in this before-mentioned parish of the Kaskaskias. The said Dame Therese Ste. Gême Beauvais agreeing for the said Miss Theresa, her daughter, aged nineteen years, in her name and with her consent for the second part.

Which parties, to wit, on the part of the said Mr. Pierre Menard, Mr. François Janis, Esquire, Captain of a Company of Citizen militia of this parish, Messrs. Pierre Bonneau, and Pierre Latulippe his witnesses and friends:

And on the part of the said Miss Therese Godin Tour-

angeau, Dame Therese Ste. Gême Beauvais, her mother; Charles Danis, her maternal uncle, as having married the late Miss Ursule Ste. Gême Beauvais; Nicholas Canada, her maternal uncle, as having married Miss Marie Helene Ste. Gême Beauvais; Ambroise Dagne, her cousin; Jean Baptiste Cailliot Lachanse; all her relatives and friends, which parties by the advice and consent of their relatives and friends herein named having knowledge of it, have agreed to have made between them the agreement and articles of marriage as follows, to wit:

The said Dame Therese Ste. Gême Beauvais promises to give and deliver the said Miss Theresa Godin, her daughter, with her consent, to the said Mr. Pierre Menard who promises to take her for his true and lawful wife and to cause to be celebrated and solemnized the marriage in the presence of our holy mother Church Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, the rather that doing so would be what one of the parties would require of the other.

For to be, the said future husband and wife, one and the same in all property personal and real increase and acquisitions, present and future, without being held for the debts, the one for the other, made and incurred before the celebration of the said marriage, and if any are found, they shall be paid and discharged by him or her who shall have made and incurred them and from his own property without the other or his goods being at all held for the same.

The said future husband and wife take each other with their goods and rights actually belonging to each, such as have come to them through inheritances or as gifts and those that may fall due in the future in whatever sum they may amount, and of whatever nature and value they may be, and in whatever place they may be found located, which shall become wholly in common from the day of the marriage ceremony.

In consideration of which marriage the said future husband has endowed and does endow the said future wife, with a thousand livres of fixed dower paid at one time to have and to take out of all the property of the said future husband without being held to make demand for it in court, to be enjoyed by the said future wife and her children, according to the custom of Paris.

The marriage-settlement provision shall be equal and reciprocal to the survivor of them to the amount of five hundred livres to be taken by the said survivor in personal property from their common stock, or the said sum in full in cash at the choice or option of the said survivor.

It shall be lawful for the said future wife, the said future husband happening to be the first to die, herself and her children to renounce the present community of goods, and of it to retake and hold in renouncing it all she will be able to prove she has contributed to it, with her dower and marriage settlement provision such as it is hereinbefore written free from all the debts of the common stock except if she was bound for any of them, or had been impleaded or adjudged to pay any of them, in which case she and her children shall be indemnified by the parents of the said future husband, and out of his property.

In consideration of which marriage and for the good true affection which the said future partners feel the one for the other, they have made and do make by these presents free gift pure and simple and for ever irrevocable, and in the most binding form in which a gift can be made to the last survivor of them, all and ever their property real and personal increase and acquisitions which the first one dying shall leave at the day and hour of decease to enjoy by the last survivor in full property, and as to whatever belongs to that one this present deed of gift is thus made for life and upon the understanding that there is no living child born or to be born of the said marriage; in which

case of a child the said deed or gift will be wholly null, it being well understood that the property of the patrimonial inheritance of the one and the other shall return to their family.

And in order to place on record these presents at the registry of this district in the aforesaid place at the date of these presents, they have constituted their procurator the bearer of these presents. For thus it has been agreed upon. Promising, etc., undertaking, etc., renouncing, etc. Done and decided in the house of the said Dame Therese Ste. Gême Beauvais, widow of the late Michël Godin Tourangeau at the said Kaskaskias, the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and the thirteenth day of the month of June, in the afternoon; the sixteenth year of the Independence of the United States of America, in the presence of the relations and of friends of whom some have signed with the future husband and wife and we the notary have subscribed and the others have made their ordinary mark, after reading made according to the ordinance. (Two witnesses in the margin are approved.)

FRANÇOIS JANIS. PIERRE MENARD.

THERREUESE GODIN, ve GODIN.

NICOLAS his x mark CANADA. PIERRE his x mark BONNEAU.

J. BTE. his x mark LACHANSE. PIERRE his x mark LATULIPPE.

AMBROISE his x mark DAGNET.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSIONS AS MAJOR OF MILITIA:

Territory of the United States } Arthur St. Clair Esquire
Northwest the River Ohio } Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of the United States North West the River Ohio. To Peter Menard Esquire:

You being appointed Major in the first Regiment of Militia of the County of Randolph by Virtue of the Power Vested in me I do by these presents Reposing Special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty Courage and good Conduct, Commission You Accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Major—in leading—ordering and exercising Said Militia in Arms both Inferiour Officers and Soldiers and to keep them in Good order and discipline. And they are hereby Commanded to Obey you as their Major—and you yourselfe to observe and follow Such Orders and Instructions as you Shall from time to time receive from me or your Superiour Officers.

[Seal] Given under my hand and the Seal of the Said Territory of the United States this fifth day of October in the year of our Lord one thous seven hundred and ninety-five and of the Independence of the United States the twentieth. AR. ST. CLAIR.

[Endorsed:] Before me John Edgar Leut. Colonel Commandant of the first Regt. of Militia of the County of Randolph by Virtue of a *Dedimus Potestatem* to me and Lordner Clark directed or either of us Personly appeared Peter Menard who being duly Sworn did take the oaths prescribed by an Act of the United States entitled an Act to regulate the time and maner of administring certain Oaths and the Oath of Office. In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Kaskaskias the 25 day of Octr. 1792.

By John Gibson, Esq'r, Secretary and now acting as Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory:

United States. } To Peter Menard, Esq'r, of the County
Indiana Territory. } of Randolph, Greeting:—

You being Appointed a Major of a Regiment of the Militia in said County. By Virtue of the power Vested in me; I do by these presents, (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty; Courage and Good Conduct) Commission you accordingly; You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Major in leading, ordering, and exercising said Regiment in Arms, both inferior officers and Soldiers; and to keep them in good order and discipline; And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Major. And you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me or your Superior Officers:—

[Seal] Given under my hand and the seal of said Territory, the first day of August in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Twenty-fifth. JNO. GIBSON.

[Endorsed:] Peter Menard, Esq'r, Major.

Before me, John Edgar, Lieut'-Colonel; Commandant of the First Regiment of Militia of the County of Randolph, by Virtue of a *Dedimus Potestatem* to me directed Personally appeared Peter Menard who, being duly sworn, did take the Oath prescribed by an Act of the United States entituled an Act to regulate the time & manner of administering certain Oaths & the Oath of Office.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Tenth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred. J. EDGAR.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS JUDGE OF THE COURTS OF RANDOLPH COUNTY:

William Henry Harrison, Esq., Governor and Commander in Chief of Indiana Territory,

Indiana Territory. { To Peter Menard, Esquire, of the County of Randolph sends Greeting:

Know you that reposing Especial trust and confidence in your abilities, integrity and judgement, I, the said William Henry Harrison have appointed, and do by these presents appoint and commission you, the said PETER MENARD, to be one of our Judges of the court of common pleas, in and for our said County, hereby giving and granting unto you full right and title to have and Execute all and singular the powers, Jurisdictions and authorities, and to recieve and enjoy all and singular the Emoluments, of a Judge of the court of common pleas, of a Judge of the Orphans Court, and of a Justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the peace in and for the county aforesaid agreeably to the constitution of the laws of this Territory to have and to hold this commission and the office hereby granted to you so long as you shall behave yourself well.

[Seal] Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory at Vincennes this fifth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one and of the Independence of the United States the twenty fifth. By The Governor, JNO. GIBSON, Secretary.

[Endorsed:] Commission Peter Menard, Esq.

PIERRE MENARD AND JOHN EDGAR'S COMMISSIONS AS ASSOCIATE JUDGES, CRIMINAL COURT, RANDOLPH CO.:

Indiana Territory } ss. William Henry Harrison Esquire, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, to John Edgar and Peter Menard of the County of Randolph Esquires, Greeting:

Whereas we assigned the Honble. John Griffin Esqr. one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Indiana Territory, our Justice to enquire by the Oaths of Honest and Lawful Men of the County of Randolph, by whom the truth of the Matter may be better known, of all Treasons, Insurrections and Rebellions, and of all Murders, Felonies, Manslaughters, Burglaries, Rapes of Women, unlawfull uttering of Words, unlawful assemblies, Misprisions, Confederacies, false allegations, Trespasses, Riots, Routs, Contempts, falsities, Negligences, Concealements, Maintainces, Opressions, deceits and all other Misdeeds, Offences & Injuries whatsoever, and by whomsoever and howsoever done, had or perpetrated and Committed, and by whom, to whom, where, how and in what Manner the same have been done, perpetrated or Committed and all and singular the premises and every of them for this time to hear and determine according to Law, and to cause to be brought before him all the prisoners who shall be in the Jail of the said County together with all and singular the Warrants, attachments, Mittimuses, and other documents, touching the said prisoners, and for this time to deliver the Jail of the said County of all the prisoners in the said Jail, for all and every of the said offences, according to Law. And we have associated you the said John Edgar and Peter Menard to act in the premises with the said John Griffin. Yet so, that if at certain days and places, which the same John Griffin shall appoint for this purpose, you shall happen to be present, then that he admit you a Companion, otherwise the said John Griffin (your presence not Being expected) may proceed to act in the premises, And therefore we command you and each of you that you attend to act with the said John Griffin in form aforesaid in the premises For we have Commanded the said John Griffin the admit you as a Companion for this purpose as aforesaid.

[Seal] Witness: William Henry Harrison Esquire Governor and Commander of the Indiana Territory at Vincennes this 24th September 1802 and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty Seventh.

By the Governor,
JNO. GIBSON,
Secrety.

Wm Henry Harrison

Indiana Territory } ss. William Henry Harrison Esquire Governor of the Indiana Territory to the Honble. John Griffin Esqr. one of the Judges in and over said Territory and John Edgar and Peter Menard Esquires of the County of Randolph, Greeting:

Whereas, we have assigned you the aforesaid John Griffin our Justice, to Inquire more fully by the Oaths of Honest and lawful men of the County of Randolph, by whom the Truth of the Matter may be Better known, of all treasons, Insurrections and Rebellions, and of all Murders, Felonies, Manslaughter, Burglaries, Rapes of Women, unlawful Uttering of Words, unlawful Assemblies, Misprisons, Confederacies, Maintainances, Oppressions, deceits and all other Misdeeds and offences and Injuries, whatsoever and by whomsoever, and howsoever done, had, perpetrated or Committed and all and Singular the premises and every or any of them for this time, to hear and determine according to Law. And afterwards associated the said John Edgar and Peter Menard with you the aforesaid John Griffin in the premises, We Command you, that if You all cannot conveniently attend to act in the premises, that you or any two of you, who shall happen to be present, of which we will that you the said John Griffin be one, proceed to act in the premises according to Law.

[Seal] Witness William Henry Harrison Esquire Governor of the Indiana Territory at Vincennes this Twenty Fourth day of September in the Year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred and two and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty Seventh.

By the Governor, (sd) WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.
JNO. GIBSON, Secrety.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION TO TAKE TESTIMONY IN LAND-OFFICE CLAIMS:

To Pierre Menard, Esquire

Reposing full Confidence in your Integrity, we hereby appoint you a Commissioner to examine witnesses and take Depositions within the County of Randolph, in support of Claims entered in the Registers Office of the District of Vincennes. Given under our Hands this 14th day of December 1805.

JOHN BADOLLET
NATHL. C. PRING
Commissioner of the land office
for the District of Vincennes.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS JUDGE OF COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, RANDOLPH COUNTY:

William Henry Harrison, Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, To Pierre Menard, Esquire, of the County of Randolph, sends Greeting:—

Know you, That reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity, judgment and abilities, I have appointed, and by these presents I do appoint and commission you the said Pierre Menard a JUDGE of the Court of Common Pleas, in the said County of Randolph, hereby giving and granting unto you, as judge of the common pleas, full right and title to have and execute all and singular the powers, jurisdictions and authorities, and to receive and enjoy all and singular the lawful emoluments of a judge

of the said court of common pleas: to have and to hold this commission, and the office hereby granted to you, the said Pierre Menard, so long as you shall behave yourself well.

[Seal] Given under my hand, and the seal of the said territory, at Vincennes, this Twenty Seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Five, of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

This Commission to be in force from and after the 1st day of January, 1806.

By the Governor's Command,

JNO. GIBSON, Secrerary.

[Endorsed:] Peter Menards Commission as Judge of the Court of Common pleas.

Indiana Territory } ss. Before me, Michael Jones (duly
Randolph County } authorized to administer the oaths of office to all officers civil & Military of said County, by Dedimus potestatem from the Governor of said Territory dated the third day of May 1806), personally appeared Peter Menard Esquire, and took the oaths of office as Judge of the Court of common pleas for said County as required by law.

Given under my hand at Kaskaskia the eighteenth day of July 1806.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS LIEUT.-COLONEL FIRST REGIMENT RANDOLPH COUNTY MILITIA, UNDER THE LAWS OF INDIANA TERRITORY:

William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, to Pierre Menard, Esq'r, Greeting:—

Reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, courage and good conduct, I have appointed you a Lieu-

tenant Colonel Commandant of the first regiment of the Militia of the county of Randolph and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Lieut. Colo. Commandt. in leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline, and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant Colo. Commandt. and your are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me or your superior officers.

[Seal] IN testimony whereof, I have hereunto caused the seal of the territory to be affixed, the twelfth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six and of the Independence of the United States of America the thirty first.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON.

By the Governor's command,

JNO. GIBSON, Secretary.

[Endorsed:]

Indiana Territory, } ss.
Randolph County. }

Before me the subscriber (authorized by *Dedimus Potestatem* from the Governor of said Territory, dated the third day of May, 1806, to administer the oaths of office to all officers civil and military of said county) personally appeared Peter Menard Esquire, and took the oaths of office as Colonel of the first Regiment of Militia of Randolph County as required by law. Given under my hand at Kaskaskia the 18th day of July, 1806. MICH. JONES.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS CAPTAIN OF INFANTRY IN LOUISIANA TERRITORY:

Meriwether Lewis, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of Louisiana, to all who shall see these presents, Greeting:—

Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valour, fidelity and abitities of Peter Menard I have appointed him a Captain of Infantry in a Detachmt. of Militia, on special service he is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain by doing and performing all manner of things hereunto belonging, and I do strickly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers, under his command to be obedient to his orders as Captain and he is to obey such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from me, or his superior officers. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of the Territory for the time being.

[Seal] In Testimony Whereof, I have caused the Seal of the Territory to be hereunto affixed this first day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine and of the independence of the United States the thirty third.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

By FREDERICK BATES, Secretary
of the Territory of Louisiana.

[Endorsed:] Territory of Louisiana, &c., Personally appeared before me, the subscriber duly authorized to administer the several oaths to Office within the Territory aforesaid, Peter Menard who took the Oath to Support the Constitution of the United States as well as the oath faithfully to discharge the duties of a Captain of Militia on special service to the best of his abilities, skill, and judgment, and in conformity to the within Commission.

Given under my hand at St. Louis this 18th of May, 1809.

THOS. F. RIDDICK.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS LIEUT.-COLONEL FIRST REGIMENT RANDOLPH COUNTY MILITIA, UNDER THE LAWS OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY:

Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Illinois Territory, and exercising as well the Government as Commander in Chief of the Militia thereof, To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:—

Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valour, fidelity and abilities of Pierre Menard I have appointed him Lieutenant Colonel of 1st Regiment of Militia of Randolph County he is therefore carefully and diligently to, discharge the duty of Lieutenant Colonel by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging, and I do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under his command to be obedient to his orders as Lieutenant Colonel and he is to obey such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from the Commander in Chief, or his superior officers.

This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of the territory, for the time being.

[Seal] In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto affixed my private seal, there being no seal of office, at Kaskaskia, the Sixth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine and of the Independence of the United States, the thirty-third. NAT POPE.

[Endorsed:] Lewtenant Colo. P. Menard.

This day came before me the within named Piere Menard and took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

Kaskaskia May 26th 1809.

PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSION AS INDIAN AGENT:

War Dept., April 2nd, 1813.

Pierre Menard Esqr.

Sir—You are hereby with the approbation of the President of the United States appointed sub agent of Indian affairs.

In discharging the duties of this appointment you will be governed by such instructions as you shall receive from this Department or from General William Clark, Agent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, M. Territory.

Your compensation will be at the rate of Six hundred dollars per annum, to commence on the date of your entering upon the duties of this appointment.

[Seal] Given at the War Office of the United States, this Second day of April, eighteen hundred & thirteen. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

LEWIS CASS AND PIERRE MENARD'S COMMISSIONS TO MAKE INDIAN TREATIES:

John Quincy Adams, President of the United States of America, To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:—

Know Ye, That in pursuance of the Act of Congress passed on the twenty-fourth day of May, 1828; entitled "An act to enable the President of the United States to hold a treaty with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawattimas, Winnebagoes, Fox and Sacs Nations of Indians," and reposing special Trust and Confidence in the Abilities, Prudence and Fidelity of Lewis Cass of the Territory of Michigan, and Pierre Menard of the State of Illinois, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint them Commissioners of the United States, with full power and authority to hold con-

ferences and to conclude and sign a treaty or treaties with the Chippewas, Ottowas, Pattawattimas, Winnebagoes, Fox and Sacs Nations of Indians, of and concerning all matters interesting to the United States, and the said Nations of Indians, transmitting the same to the President of the United States of America, for his final ratification by and with the consent and advice of the Senate of the United States. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being.

[Seal] In Testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made patent, and the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at the City of Washington, the twenty-fourth day of May, A.D. 1828; and of the Independence of the United States, the fifty-Second. J. Q. ADAMS.

By the President, H. CLAY, Secretary of State.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTERS OF SAINT ANTOINE DE RICHELIEU OU CHAMBLY, PROVINCE DE QUEBEC, COMTE DE VERCHÉRES, CANADA:

RECORD OF MARRIAGE OF PIERRE MENARD'S PARENTS:

Le 14 Fevrier, 1763, J. Bte Menard dit Brindamour soldat du régiment de Guienne, âgé de 28 ans, fils de feu J. Bte Menard, et de Madelaine Reboulla ses pére et mère de la paroisse de St. Hypolite Diocese d'Alis, épousa Marie Françoise Cirée, agée de 22 ans, fille de J. Bte Cirée dit St. Michel, et de Marguerite Bonin, de cette paroisse.

(Translation:)

The fourteenth of February, 1763, J. Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, soldier of the regiment of Guienne, aged 28 years, son of the late J. Baptiste Menard and of

Madelaine Reboulla, his father and mother of the parish of Saint Hypolite, diocese of Alis, married Marie Françoise Cirée, aged 22 years, daughter of J. Baptiste Cirée, called Saint Michel, and of Marguerite Bonin of this parish.

RECORD OF THE BAPTISM OF PIERRE MENARD:

"L'an mil sept soixante et six le huit d' Octobre par Nous prêtre soussigné curé de cette paroisse a été baptisé Pierre né d' hier au soir du légitime mariage de Jean Baptiste Menard dit Brindamour et de Marie Françoise Cirée ditte St. Michel. Le perrain a été Pierre Vandandaigue dit Gadbois, et la marraine Louise Cirée ditte St. Michel tante de l' enfant qui ont déclaré ne savoir signer.

J. B. MENARD. GERVAISE, P'tre."

(Translation:)

The year seventeen hundred and sixty-six, the eighth of October, by us the undersigned priest, vicar of this parish, was baptized Pierre, born yesterday evening of the legitimate marriage of Jean Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, and Marie Françoise Cirée, called St. Michel. The godfather was Pierre Vandandaigue, called Gadbois, and the godmother Louise Cirée, called St. Michel, aunt of the infant, who have declared that they do not know how to write.

J. B. MENARD. GERVAISE, Priest.

EXTRACTS FROM PARISH REGISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION AT KASKASKIA, ILLINOIS:

RECORD OF THE FIRST MARRIAGE OF PIERRE MENARD:

"L'an mil sept cent quatre vingt douze, le treize de Juin aprés avoir donné dispense de trois bans de mariage

entre Pierre Menard fils legitime de Jean Menard et Françoise Cireey, natif de la paroisse de Saint Antoine en Canada, Commerçant de ce poste, et Thérèse Gaudin Durangeau fille legitime de defunt Michel Gaudin dit Durangeau, et Thérèse Raphael, native de eette paroisse, ne s'étant decouvert aucun empêchement, j'ai reçu leur consentement mutuel, et leur ai donné la Benediction nuptiale selon les ceremoines de notre Sainte mère l'Eglise Catholique et Romaine, et ce en presence des temoins et leurs parents reciproques selon l'ordonnance après lecture faits.

DE SAINT PIERRE,
Miss. apost.

THERESE GODIN, JN. EDGAR,
PIERRE MENARD, WILLIAM ST. CLAIR,
B. TARDIVEAU, W. MORRISSON,
DANIS la marque
FRANÇOIS JANIS, de + NICHOLAS CANADA,
JEANE ST. CLAIR, ELISABETH MAXWELL."

(Translation:)

The year seventeen hundred and ninety-two, the thirteenth of June, after having dispensed with the three bans of marriage between Pierre Menard, legitimate son of Jean Menard and François Cirée, native of the parish of Saint Antoine in Canada, trader at this post, and Thérèse Gaudin Durangeau, legitimate daughter of the deceased Michel Gaudin, called Durangeau, and Thérèsa Raphael, native of this parish, not having discovered any impediment, I have received their mutual consent, and have given them the nuptial benediction according to the ceremonies of our holy Mother the Catholic and Roman Church, and in the presence of the witnesses and their respective parents, according to the ordinance after reading made.

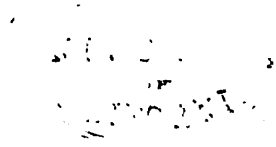
By SAINT PIERRE,
Mission Apostolic.

RECORD OF THE BURIAL OF PIERRE MENARD:

"On the fourteenth of June, 1844, I the undersigned Buried the remains of Colonel Pierre Menard in his vault ——— in the graveyard of this Parish, thither he was accompanied by an immense concourse of People.

"He died yesterday ——— the ——— at 1½, having previously received the last sacraments, he was 72 years old. J. M. J. ST. CYR, parish Priest." *

* The blanks in the above entry represent words in the original entry which can not now be deciphered. The statement of his age is manifestly incorrect, and some one has scratched with a lead pencil the figure "2" in the original entry and has written "6" over the "2", and has also written "76" in pencil over the "72". This approximates to the truth, but Pierre Menard's exact age at the time of his death, as shown by the register of his baptism, was seventy-seven years, eight months, and six days. E. G. M.



Noel le Vasseur.

NOEL LE VASSEUR,

By STEPHEN R. MOORE of Kankakee, Illinois.

AT a meeting of the Old Settlers' Association of Iroquois County, held on the ground where Gurdon S. Hubbard and Noel le Vasseur, in the service of the American Fur-Company, had a stock of merchandise and established a trading-post with the Pottawatomie Indians, Mr. Hubbard said that he first visited this site in 1822. Noel le Vasseur claimed to the writer of this sketch, that he came to this place in 1820, and at one of the old settlers' meetings, which he attended, I spoke for him and made this statement, at his request, and he pointed out the ground on the south side of the Iroquois River where Mr. Hubbard and himself built the first dry-goods store, in the territory tributary to Chicago.

It will be difficult to reconcile with exactness the dates of the pioneer lives of Hubbard and Vasseur in their first trading with the Indians in Illinois. I shall briefly give the events and times as I gathered them from the lips of Mr. Vasseur. It is possible that Hubbard may have sent Vasseur to Illinois two years before he went there.* In this connection it is well to state that Mr. Vasseur had no educational advantages, and could neither read nor write, and hence he relied wholly upon memory to fix dates.

In a log-cabin at Saint Michel d' Yamaska, Canada, on Christmas night, 1799, was born the subject of this memoir.

* Since writing the above, I am positively informed that Mr. Vasseur preceded Mr. Hubbard to Illinois two years, and is therefore the pioneer merchant and trader for this part of the Northwest.—S. R. MOORE, Mar. 5, 1889.

His parents were poor and unlettered. They commemorated the event by calling the boy Noel, which means Christmas. He led a quiet and uneventful life on the farm until May, 1817, when he astonished his parents by announcing to them that he had entered the service of one Rocheblave,* in company with eighty young men, who were hired to go into the West to trade with the Indians. His parents were startled at this unexpected announcement, and sought to dissuade him from going. The love of adventure was too strong for the parental love and authority, and without a penny in money or a change of clothing, in his seventeenth year, he sought his fortune in the great and unknown West.

They left Montreal, May 15, 1817, and embarked on the St. Lawrence, with two years' supplies of food and clothing, destined to reach Mackinac. I do not think that Vasseur knows the route followed to reach the Straits of Mackinac. He was certain they did not come by way of Niagara Falls. He said the company made two fatiguing portages with their boats and supplies, and, after undergoing very great hardships they reached Lake Huron and again embarked for the Straits.† John Jacob Astor had established a trading-post and depot of supplies at Mackinac, and when they reached there, in the summer of 1817, Rocheblave sold all his rights to the services of his men and his outfit and supplies to the American Fur-Company, and Vasseur and his companions passed into the service of this powerful association.

These Canadian *voyageurs* soon learned that all was not

* This is the name of the last governor of the Illinois under British authority, who was in Canada and in trade after the war of the Revolution, and it is possible that this is the same person or his son.—E. G. M.

† This party doubtless went up the Ottawa River to the Mattawan, by this stream and a portage to Lake Nipissing, and thence down French River to the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, a route explored by Champlain in 1615, and often used by the early traders.—E. G. M.

gold that glittered. The labor was very severe and oftentimes perilous, and the fare coarse and frequently scanty. Vasseur's love of adventure was not satisfied; he had met an Indian who told him of a beautiful land in the West and the greatest river in the world, and he invited Vasseur to go with him. Actuated by a spirit of adventure which seems almost foolhardy, young Vasseur and a companion left the service of the Fur Company, and in company with their Indian friend, in a slight Indian canoe, started "to go West." They followed the west shore of Lake Michigan until it led them into Green Bay. They ascended Fox River to where Portage City now stands, made the portage, and embarked their little craft on the Wisconsin River, on which they floated down to the present site of Prairie-du-Chien. The Indians claimed they were the first white men who had ever made the voyage over the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.* Vasseur said he found the Indians exceedingly friendly, and he became a great favorite with the chief of the tribe. He taught the Indians many useful things in fishing and hunting, and he accompanied them on their annual fall hunt, when they were making provision for a winter supply.

When spring came, he concluded to return to Mackinac. Here an unexpected obstacle presented itself. The Indian chief refused to let him depart. He claimed to have adopted him into his tribe. The outlook was not very encouraging to a boy eighteen years old, and many thouand miles away from home, and in a country that he knew but little of. Vasseur and his companion had learned much of the Indian language, but the Indians had not learned their language. While appearing to be willing to remain, they were forming plans to get away, and in the French tongue freely discussed the ways and means to accomplish it.

* It is evident that the Indians were deceiving their young white friends, or had never heard of Joliet and Marquette, and their successors.—E. G. M.

They supplied themselves with some dried venison and smoked coon meat, and seizing a favorable opportunity they started on foot for Green Bay, following the course of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and after many weary days of travel they reached the bay, in an almost starved and naked condition. The rivers abounded with fish, and they were able to secure enough to keep them from starving. Fortunately a temporary camp had been established at the mouth of Fox River by the American Fur-Company, and in this camp they were given shelter and provisions, and sent to fur-company headquarters at Mackinac. He went to work again for the company, and was employed in assorting and packing the furs for shipment East. Frequently during this and the succeeding year he was sent out to distant posts to trade with the Indians. He had learned to talk with the Indians while at Prairie-du-Chien, and this knowledge was valuable to the company, and gave Vasseur a wider field of operations. Without affirming it as a positive fact, it is my impression that he met Gurdon S. Hubbard at Mackinac for the first time in the fall of 1818, and this was the beginning of a friendship very dear and an intimacy lasting as long as they lived. Mr. Hubbard did not leave Montreal in the service of the fur company until April, 1818, and reached Mackinac, July 14, which was shortly before the time Vasseur had returned from Prairie-du-Chien.

In 1820, the company determined to establish a trading-post in Illinois, with the Pottawatomies, a tribe that was reported to be very strong and very successful in securing furs. In the winter of 1819 or spring of 1820, young Vasseur, under the direction of Gurdon S. Hubbard, started around Lake Michigan, bound for the Illinois country, with an outfit of provisions and a stock of goods suitable to trade with the Indians. He took with him sufficient men to man the boats, and they followed the

west shore of Lake Michigan until they reached Chicago. They proceeded up the Chicago River as far as they could go, and then made the portage to the Desplaines River, and thence down that river to its junction with the Kankakee. The descent to the Kankakee was easily accomplished. At this point the real hardship of the voyage began. The water was high and the current very swift. They had engaged an Indian guide before they reached Chicago.

The Kankakee River was ascended partly by rowing, sometimes by wading along the shore and dragging their boats, or getting along-side and pushing them. Frequently but a few miles could be made in a day. When they reached the Iroquois, the river was narrower and the current less swift, and its ascent was not so difficult. In the fall of 1820, they landed on the bank of the Iroquois River, at the point where the Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis & Chicago Railroad crosses the river. For many years thereafter the place was called Bunkum. It is now called Iroquois. As all roads now lead to Chicago, then all trails led to this crossing on the Iroquois.

There was a trail running west and south from this point, following the river to Spring Creek, and then up the creek and westward toward where Paxton now stands. Another trail went north and east, following the sand ridges west of Beaver Lake in Indiana, crossing the Kankakee west of the state line, and on northward to Lake Michigan. Another trail led north and west, following the Iroquois River to the Kankakee, and along the Kankakee through Bourbonais' Grove; then to Rock Village, the home of Yellow Head, an Indian chief; then to Hickory Creek, in Will County; and then to the Desplaines River, and on to Chicago. Another trail branched off at Rock Village, going south and west near to where Ottawa is. A trail went almost due south through Danville, and

then south to southern Illinois. The most important trail ran south and east to the Wabash River, where was fought the battle of Camp Tippecanoe. This point was in the heart of the Pottawatomie country, and was well chosen by the fur company, as an advantageous point to establish a trading-post.

At the old settlers' meeting, heretofore referred to, Vasseur pointed out the exact spot on the south bank of the river where they built their storehouse, which they completed and occupied before the cold weather set in, in the fall of 1820. The Indians were very friendly to the white men, and a very successful commerce was carried on. The furs were assorted and packed, and for ten years or more were carried to Chicago by the same route they had come. As early as 1823 or 1824, they packed to Chicago on Indian ponies and returned with goods. From whatever time Hubbard came to the Iroquois, Vasseur assisted him in conducting the American Fur-Company's business in Illinois. They feared no danger from the Indians. The white traders could have been destroyed at any moment, but the Indians looked upon the traders as their best friends. Vasseur was never threatened by them but once.

In 1822, he went to Rock Village, on the Kankakee, to open a trade with the Indians congregated there. The Indians were in receipt of an indemnity from the general government, and were supplied with gold and silver. He took two men with him, and an outfit of merchandise and two kegs of "life water," as it was called by the Indians. This was his mistake, and it nearly cost him his life. He is not the only person who has made a mistake in the use of "life water." The Indians discovered he was supplied with it, and refused to trade until they were given some of this water. He had concealed the precious stuff in the woods. The Indians refused to be comforted. The chief approached him and said they had made a vow to the

Great Spirit, which could not be broken, that they would buy nothing until he brought out the kegs.

Vasseur had to yield. They formed a circle around him and praised his great qualities as a good friend, until they drank the kegs empty, and all became magnificently drunk and fiercely warlike. Yellow Head, their chief, foresaw the trouble that was coming, and helped Vasseur and his companions pack up their goods and move a dozen miles away before they camped for the night.

So well were the white traders liked, that Hubbard married the daughter of one of the head men, in 1824. Her name was Watseka. She was a very beautiful girl, with features and form more like the Caucasian than the Indian. Hubbard maintained wifely relations with her until he left the service of the fur company, and went to Danville to live. After Hubbard went away, Vasseur carried on the business of Indian trader until the tribe removed West, after the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, in October, 1833. Hubbard had an Indian divorce from Watseka when he went away. The year following, Vasseur married her, and she bore him three children.

Just what the ceremony of an Indian marriage and the process of an Indian divorce was, I am not advised. But it was all done in accordance with the customs of the Indians, and was entirely satisfactory to their chief men. Nor let it be inferred that Watseka held immoral relations with these men. She was a true woman, and faithful to her husband while he remained her husband. And she was equally faithful to Vasseur, and he ever spoke kindly of her, and when he left her he gave her a large fund amounting to several thousand dollars. A better civilization would condemn such easy marriage and easy divorce, but when I see how easy marriage and divorce are made in Illinois, I do not think we have made the same progress in this line as we have in commerce and trade

since the days of Hubbard and Vasseur on the banks of the Iroquois River.

Vasseur says that the Indians told him that formerly game was very abundant on these prairies, and that great droves of buffaloes made this valley their home. They spoke of the Storm Spirit getting very angry at the Indians, and sending a great snowfall and very cold weather, and this storm drove the buffaloes away, and they never returned. He locates the time of the great storm between 1770 and 1780.

Vasseur made several trips to Mackinac, where he personally superintended the shipment of furs and the selection of goods suitable to the wants of his Indian friends. He had learned the Indian language, and, with Hubbard, was employed by the United-States commissioners as interpreters in the negotiations of the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, conducted October 20, 1832, and ratified January 21, 1833.

By this treaty the United States received a magnificent territory, and the Indians were induced to give up the finest hunting and fishing ground that ever existed. The Kankakee River and its tributaries and creeks abounded with the mink, musk-rat, raccoon, otter, and beaver, while the deer were as plenty as are now the horned cattle. The river was the home of the salmon, black-bass, rock-bass, and pickerel.

The two leading chiefs of the Pottawatomies were Shabonee and Sha-wa-na-see. They were warm friends of Hubbard and Vasseur, and were known to be the friends of the white men. In the Black-Hawk war, the Sacs and Foxes tried to form an alliance with the Pottawatomies, and made two visits to Shabonee and Sha-wa-na-see to induce them to join in the war, but it was of no avail. There is no doubt that Hubbard and Vasseur had much to do in influencing these chiefs. Had they joined Black

Hawk, it is certain the contest would have been prolonged and many lives would have been lost. The secret of their great influence over the Indians was the fact that they treated them fairly, gave them full value for their furs, and under no circumstances would they ever deceive them.

By the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, the Indian title was extinguished to all that tract of land included within the following boundary, *viz.:* "Beginning at a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles south of the mouth of the Chicago River; thence in a direct line to a point on the Kankakee River, ten miles above its mouth; thence down said river and the Illinois River to the mouth of the Fox River, being the boundary of a cession made by them in 1816; thence with the southern boundary of the Indian territory to the state line between Illinois and Indiana; thence north with said line to Lake Michigan; thence with the shores of Lake Michigan to the place of beginning."

For this magnificent domain, this government gave the Indians an annuity of $15,000 for the term of twenty years, and the further sum of $28,746 was applied to the payment of certain claims, and $45,000 in merchandise to be paid immediately, and $30,000 in merchandise was to be paid them in Chicago in 1833. Inasmuch as the party of the first part put its own price on the merchandise, and Mr. Indian did not know the true value thereof, the merchandise does not count for very much in this trade.

As a recognition of the friendly character of Indians during the late war with the Sacs and Foxes, the treaty contains this clause: "The said tribe [of Pottawatomies] having been faithful allies of the United States during the late contest with the Sacs and Foxes, in consideration thereof the United States agree to permit them to hunt and fish on the lands ceded, as also on the lands of the government on Wabash and Sangamon rivers, so long as the same shall remain the property of the United States."

Inasmuch as the poor Indian was sent west of the Mississippi River the following year, and there were no bridges across the river, and civilization had taken possession of the state bordering the river, and it was quite unhealthy for an Indian to travel eastward, it is not perceived that this clause was of much benefit to the tribe.

A much more practical clause was placed in the treaty, allowing them pay "for horses stolen from them during the late war," wherein we find the cheapest horse stolen by the United States "during the late war" was $40, and the highest was $160, with a general average of about $80. Since the United States had obtained the land so cheap, they could afford to be liberal in making restitution for stolen horses.

Among the moneys to be paid is an item of $5573 to Gurdon S. Hubbard, and to Noel le Vasseur, $1800. Hubbard and Vasseur had rendered the government valuable services before and at the time of the Black-Hawk war. They learned through Shabonee and Sha-wa-na-see the plans of the hostile tribes, and Hubbard, in person, commanded a company of scouts, that went to the relief of the settlements in LaSalle, and these payments were made to them in compensation for such services, as well, also, for acting as interpreters in the negotiation of the treaty.

Vasseur was appointed the agent of the United States to remove the Indians to their reservation at Council Bluffs, Iowa. This work was completed in 1836. Many of them did not want to leave Illinois, and made many objections thereto. Who can blame them? They had sold their lands for a mess of pottage, and they knew it. Vasseur accomplished this difficult uudertaking without any acts of violence and to the entire satisfaction of the government. In the meantime he had made a purchase of some land at Bourbonais Grove, where St. Viateur's College now stands.

In 1837, he married Miss Ruth Bull of Danville. She died in 1860. He had eight children by this marriage, four boys and four girls. The oldest, Edward, was a member of the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry, and died in the service; George died in Memphis, in 1871, with yellow fever; William died while very small; and Alfred died in 1876. The girls died after reaching woman's estate, except the youngest, Mrs. Dr. Monast, who now lives in Chicago. Father Perry, connected with the catholic bishop of Chicago, is a grandson.

In 1861, Vasseur married Miss Elenore Franchere of Chicago, who now survives. This remarkable man died in 1879, at his home in Bourbonais Grove, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a devout adherent to the tenets of the catholic church, and lies buried in the church-yard, but a few steps from where he made his home in 1837.

Mr. le Vasseur was a man of strong individuality. Had he been an educated man, he would have been an explorer of world-wide renown. His love of adventure was a born passion. He knew no fear, had unbounded confidence in himself, and overcame all obstacles. His success with the savage men by whom he was surrounded lay in his integrity and simplicity. He joined them in their hunts and took part in their sports. He was a second William Penn, but greater than Penn.

The friendship of Hubbard and Vasseur was knit together by the hardships they had endured, and was as lasting as that of Jonathan and David. They died, carrying to their graves the stories of many adventures and historical facts, which are now forever sealed to us. The true lives of these men in Mackinac and in Illinois will read to our children more like a romance than a reality. It is due to history, it is due to these pioneer lives, that a complete biography of Gurdon S. Hubbard and Noel le Vasseur shall be written. The writer has only touched upon a few points in the remarkable career of the latter.

LISTS OF EARLY ILLINOIS CITIZENS.

SOME thirty years ago, or about the year 1858, Wm. H. H. Terrell, afterward the secretary of the Historical Society of Indiana, purchased at Vincennes in that State, fifteen manuscripts relating to the early history of what is now the State of Illinois. From him these papers were acquired in 1883 by the Chicago Historical Society, and they proved upon examination to be of decided interest and value. They comprise four lists of heads of families in Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Pont, Prairie du Rocher, and St. Philip in the Illinois country in or before the year 1783; three general returns or rolls of the militia in the counties of Randolph and St. Clair in Illinois Territory on August 1, 1790, a list of the names of the persons returned as entitled to the donation of 100 acres of land for militia service in the counties of Randolph and St. Clair; five rolls of militia companies at Kaskaskia and in the county of St. Clair in the year 1790; a petition of certain citizens of Vincennes, formerly of Kaskaskia, concerning donation lands, dated October 26, 1797; and an original proclamation with a duplicate in French, relating to public lands, dated at Kaskaskia, June 15, 1779, issued and signed by Col. John Todd, jr., civil governor and commandant of the county of Illinois, commonwealth of Virginia.

These documents are important as showing the names of many of those residing in Illinois at the close of the war of the Revolution, the probable white population of that region in the last decade of the last century, and the

Proclamation

By the Right Honorable

Whereas from the Fertility and beautiful situation of the Country bordering upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, Wabash Rivers and the Lakes, it is highly necessary for the future advancement of a Settlement by the Government of Virginia and to improve both the Strength & Commerce of this Country,

Also Therefore I do by this Proclamation strictly enjoin & forbid all persons whatsoever from making any new Settlements upon the Waste Lands of the said Rivers & within one League of said Lands until further Manner & Form of Settlements as heretofore made by the French Inhabitants and until further Orders herein given.

And it is further Ordered that all the Claims to Lands within the said County may be fully known and some Method fixed on for ascertaining & perpetuating the Record of the just Claims, Every Inhabitant is required as soon as conveniently may be, to bring before the Persons appointed for that purpose a Specimen of his or her Lands with Copies of all their Deeds and where Deeds have never been given, or are lost such Depositions of Circumstances as will best tend to support their Claims. The Memorandum to mention the Quantity of Land, by whom originally granted, and when, deducing the Title through the various Occupants to the present Possessor, —

The Number of Adventurers who will shortly cover over this Country renders the above Steps necessary in order to ascertain the Vacant Lands as to guard against Confusion which will probably be occasioned upon Lands not of Record —

Given under my Hand & Seal at Pittsburgh the fifteenth day of June in the third year of the Commonwealth 1775

Jno. Connolly

Proclamation

Illinois Pays

Voyant la Salubrité, et Situation avantageuses des Terres Situées sur le bord du Fleuve Mississippi, des Rivieres Ohio, Ouabache et Illinois et Croignant que la Colonie a s'en approprier de trop grandes Quantités, qui pourait Dejudicier, le Bonheur et le Commerce de ce Païs en suivant les Reglements fait par le Gouvernement de la Virginie

En Consequence de quoy Je Publie la Presente Proclamation pour Etablissement enjoindre toutes personnes quelconque de ne faire Aucun Etablissement sur les Terres basses des dites Rivieres ny a moins d'une Lieue des Distances des dites terres Basses, qu'elles Seront Arpentées et Bornées, ny devront pratiquées par les Habitants Français, Jusqu'a Nouveaux Ordres

Et voulant en Outre que toutes les Possessions de Terres dans la dite Comté, soient exactement Connues, et quelle soit Etablie une maniere pour en Simplifier les justes Possessions par enregistrement

Tous les Habitants sont en Consequence requis de remettre Promptement aux Personnes Nommées a cet Effet dans Chaques districts, un memoire des Terres qu'ils Possedent avec les Pieces Justificatives qu'elle ont, a faute de Quoy Je Donneron Des Depositions & Certificats en Bonne et Due forme, sur les quels il sera fait mention de la Quantité de la Terre, du Temps et a qui la Concession a été premierement faite ainsy que les Titres de Droits des tous les Possesseurs jusqu'au present

La grandeur d'Etendue que des Concessions sont fixé dans ce Païs, rendre la Juste Precaution bien necessaire voulant pourvoir a assurer les Terres Vacantes que pour empecher les Mecontentements qui pourait arriver a ceux qui occupant des Terres, qui ne sont point enregistrés — Donné sous mon Seing et Sceau aux Kaskaskia le Quinzieme Jour Juin 1779 et la Troisieme Année de l'Independance

Gue Rodd

beginnings of republican government there. They have another attraction in that they bear the autograph signatures of some of the most prominent of the early citizens of Illinois, of John Todd, jr., its first governor under the authority of Virginia, and of the first governor of the Northwest Territory, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, in whose chirography one at least of these papers is written.

These lists of heads of families and militiamen were prepared in order to secure the benefit of certain legislation originating with the Continental congress under the Articles of Confederation. That body transacted but little business in the last year of its feeble existence, but among its few acts during that period we find some relating to what is now Illinois. The year after its adoption of the great Ordinance of 1787, this congress had before it a memorial of one George Morgan, and his associates "respecting a tract of land in the Illinois country on the Mississippi." And on June 20, 1788, the committee to whom this matter had been referred reported, among other things, resolutions that "separate tracts shall be reserved for satisfying the claims of the ancient settlers" in the Illinois country, that "measures shall be immediately taken for confirming in their possessions and titles, the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers on these lands, who on or before the year 1783, had professed themselves citizens of the United States or any of them"; and that three additional reserved tracts shall be laid off "adjoining the several villages, Kaskaskies, La Prairie du Rochers and Kahokia," * * * "of such extent as shall contain 400 acres for each of the families now living at either of the villages of Kaskaskies, La Prairie du Rochers, Kahokia, Fort Chartres, or St. Philips. The additional reserved tract adjoining the village of the Kaskaskies shall be for the heads of families in that village; the tract adjoining La Prairie du Rochers for the heads of families

in that village; and the tract adjoining Kahokia for the heads of families in that village, as also for those at Ft. Chartres and St. Philips" and "that the governor of the western territory be instructed to repair to the French settlements on the Mississippi, at and above the Kaskaskies; that he examine the titles and possessions of the settlers * * and that he take an account of the several heads of families living within the reserved limits." * * And congress resolved to agree to this report.*

On August 28, 1788, the Continental congress again considered the Morgan memorial and resolved to change the location of the three additional tracts of land to the east side of a certain ridge of rocks instead of the west side as provided in the act of June 20,† and on August 29, it was resolved that measures be taken for confirming in their possessions and titles the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers at Post St. Vincents who on or before the year 1783, had settled there and professed themselves citizens of the United States or any of them; that 400 acres of land be reserved and given to every head of a family of the above description, settled at Post St. Vincents; and that the governor of the western territory cause to be laid out a tract of land, adjoining Post St. Vincents, sufficient for completing the above donations. And the governor was instructed in the same resolution to proceed without delay to the French settlements on the Mississippi in order to give dispatch to the several measures to be taken according to the acts of June 20 and August 28, 1788, to report the whole of his proceedings to congress, and to take Post St. Vincents on his return and pursue the measures directed to be taken by the act of Aug. 29, and report his proceedings accordingly.‡ These were among the latest proceedings of the congress of the con-

* Journals of Congress (of the Confederation), XIII. 30–32.
† Ib. p. 90 ‡ Ib. pp. 91, 92.

federation which transacted its final piece of business October 10, 1788, and expired November 1, of that year for the want of a quorum.* Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory pursuant to the last-mentioned resolution, and also in obedience to the instructions of President Washington of October 6, 1789,† set out for Kaskaskia, and arrived there March 5, 1790.‡ On March 7, he issued a proclamation calling on the inhabitants to prove claims as provided for in the act of congress of June 20, 1788, and he directed measures to be taken to confirm the titles of the inhabitants who had professed themselves citizens of the United States, and to lay off the tracts of land to furnish the 400-acre donations provided for in said act. On April 5, the governor visited Cahokia for the same purpose, stopping at Fort Chartres and Prairie du Rocher by the way, and appointed militia and other officers, and embarked at Kaskaskia on his return journey on June 11.§

It appeared from his report and that of Winthrop Sargent, the secretary of the Northwest Territory,‖ that further legislation was needed, and on March 3, 1791, the congress of the United States passed "an act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions." This provided among other things, that 400 acres of land should be given to each of those persons who in 1783, were heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country on the Mississippi, and who had since removed from one of said places to the other, and that heads of

* Ib. 126–7. † "St. Clair Papers," II. 125.

‡ Governor St. Clair's Report to President Washington of official Proceedings in the Illinois Country, "St. Clair Papers," II. 164.

§ Ib. pp. 165, 166, 169, 179.

‖ Ibid and "American State Papers. Public Lands," I. 5–16.

families at either of said places in 1783, who afterward removed without the limits of the territory were notwithstanding entitled to the donation of 400 acres of land provided by the act of congress of August 29, 1788, and also to the lands allotted to them before 1783 according to the laws and usages of the government under which they had settled. This act also gave 400 acres of land to each person who had not obtained any donation of land from the United States, and who on August 7, 1790, was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, and done militia duty. And it once more changed the location of the three additional tracts of land set aside for donations, and directed them to be laid out as at first provided in the act of June 20, 1785.*

It was to obtain the gifts of 400 acres of land to heads of families, and of 100 acres to those enrolled in the militia, provided for by one or more of these various acts, that the lists before us were compiled. Governor St. Clair revisited the Illinois country in the fall of 1795, and, as we learn from two of these militia rolls, he was at Cahokia, September 28, and at Kaskaskia, October 4, of that year. The list of Capt. James Piggott's company at the former place, and of Capt. John Edgar and Capt. François Janis' companies at the latter place were sworn to before him on these dates, respectively. In his report of official proceedings in the Illinois country at this time, made to the secretary of state in 1796, Gov. St. Clair says—that the donations to the heads of families were not yet laid out, although ordered in 1790, owing to the lack of a surveyor, the poverty of the people who had no means to cultivate new lands, and doubt as to the proper party to issue the patents. But as to the donations to those enrolled in the militia he had no difficulty, and had ordered these to be laid out, and enclosed a list of the persons entitled.† It

* "U.-S. Statutes at Large," I, 221. † "St. Clair Papers," II, 398, 400.

is probable that at this time he prepared the list of names of the persons returned as entitled to the donation of 100 acres of land for militia services in the counties of Randolph and St. Clair, among the documents in question, which is without date or signature, but bears an endorsement stating it to be the handwriting of Gov. St. Clair. All of these documents seem to be originals, doubtless once preserved in the archives of the Northwest Territory, and then scattered abroad by accident or official carelessness.

And three of these papers are in the handwriting of John Rice Jones, the earliest and ablest lawyer in the Northwest Territory. Those which he wrote are: 1. "The List of the Heads of Families in Kaskaskia on or before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three and who professed themselves citizens of the State of Virginia;" 2. "List of the Inhabitants of Prairie du Rocher and St. Philips who were heads of families therein on or before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three;" 3. "General Return of the Militia enrolled in the (now) County of St. Clair on the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety." Accompanying these three documents, when they came into the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, was a memorandum stating them to be in the handwriting of John Rice Jones, and they have since been submitted to his only surviving son, Hon. George W. Jones, formerly United-States senator from Iowa, now residing at Dubuque in that State, who was born at Vincennes, Indiana, April 12, 1804. He has indorsed upon each of the lists last above named, a statement subscribed by him, that it is the handwriting of his deceased father, Hon. John Rice Jones. In this connection it seemed appropriate that some memorial should be preserved in this volume, of a man who took so prominent a part in the early history of the Illinois country. And at

the request of the Chicago Historical Society, a portrait of John Rice Jones and a sketch of him and his eldest son, Rice Jones, have been furnished by his great-grandson, W. A. Burt Jones, of St. Paul, Minn., and will be found at the close of these Lists of Early Illinois Citizens.

E. G. M.

LIST[1] of the Heads of Families in Kaskaskia on or before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, and who had professed themselves Citizens of the State of Virginia:

Nicholas Janis.[2]	*a*Nicholas LaChance, Senior.
Antoine Bauvais.	Jerome Danis.
*a*Jean Bap. St. Gem Bauvais.	Thereze Godin, widow.[3]
*a*Vital Bauvais.	Jean Baptiste Delisle.
Catherine Duplasi, widow.	Marie Louise Delisle, widow.
Joseph Baugi.	Louis Delisle.
Marie Louise Bauvais, widow.	*a*Stanislas Levasseur.
*a*Marie Louise Charleville, widow	*a*Nicholas Levasseur.
Jean Baptiste Creli.	Joseph Doza.
Jacques Thuillier,	Arcange Doza, widow.

[*a* "Removed into foreign parts."]

[[1] This list is written on eight pages of old, laid paper, water-marked "J. S. O. G." It is indorsed "List of the Heads of Families in Kaskaskia on or before 1783." The list, note, and affidavit are all in the same handwriting, which is stated in a pencil memorandum to be that of John Rice Jones. And this document now bears the further indorsement: "The within lists are in the handwriting of my deceased father, Hon. John Rice Jones, who died at St. Louis, Missouri, on the 1st of Feb'y, 1824, he being at that time a justice of the supreme court of the State of Missouri. Dated at Dubuque, Iowa, this 8th day of Feb'y, 1889. Geo. W. Jones."]

[[2] Nicholas Janis was appointed, by Col. John Todd, Jr., captain of the first company of the militia of Kaskaskia, May 14, 1779.]

[[3] Mother of Pierre Menard's first wife. The same person described in other lists as the widow Tourangeau, the latter name being a *soubriquet* of her deceased husband, Michel Godin.]

Blaize Barutel.
Jean Baptiste Taumur.
Joseph Lonval.
Louis Lonval.
Marie Louise LaChapell, widow.
Magdalen Angelique Miot, widow.
Francois Derousse St. Pierre.
Etienne Pagé.
Daniel Blouin.[1]
Joseph Marrois.
Henry Richard.
Nicholas LaChance, Junior.
Pierre Richard.
Joseph Miault.
Pierre Langlois.
*a*Ichabod Camp.
Michel Danis.
Antoine Bienvenu, Junior.
Jacques Mercier.
Marie Rose Fortin, widow.
*Alexander Douglas.
Baptiste Laderoute.
Guy Jarrad.
Charles Delisle.
Marie Racine, widow.
Alexander Lalande.
Peter Dumont.
Joseph Dupuy.
*a*Antoine Morin.
John Baptiste Gandron.
Louis Brazot.
Antoine Bienvenu, Senior.
*a*Paul Deruisseau.
*Timothe Demumbrun.[2]
Philip Rocheblave.[3]
Pierre LaCoste.
Arcange Chenier, widow.
Antoine Chenier.
Charles Charleville.
Francois Charleville.
Louis Charleville.
Gabriel Obuchon, Senior.
Paul Reaume.
Antoine Antaya, Senior.
Antoine Antaya, Junior.
Michel Antaya.
Anthoine Buyat.
Louis Buyat.
Francois Corset.
Joseph Toulouse.
Pierre Provot.
Antoine Cassou.
Catherine Cassou, widow.
Amable Gagné.
Claude Lemieux.
Charles Renoue.
Charles Dany.
Jacques Conand.
Raymond Normand Labriere.
John McEl Duff.[4]

[1 A man of ability and much influence among the French inhabitants of the Illinois. As their representative, he petitioned the British crown for a better form of government.] [* Americans.]

[2 Successor of John Todd, Jun'r, as county lieutenant or governor of Illinois under Virginia.] [3 The last British governor of the Illinois.]

[4 The leader of the party of hunters met at Fort Massac by George Rogers Clark on his way to the Illinois, and who gave him the latest news from Kaskaskia.]

*Henry Smith.
Archibald McNabb.
*a*Thomas Hughes.[1]
*a*James Wiley.
*Peter Pressley.
David Pagan.[1]
James Curry.
James Orr.
Alexis Beauvais.
Nicholas Canada.
Jean Larue.
Antoine Renaud.[2]
*a*Joseph Bonvouloir.
*a*Antoine Arkouet.
Alexis Laplante.
Jean Baptiste Janis.
Jean Baptiste Montreuil.
Louis Germin.
Marie ——— Gagnon, widow.
Richard Winston's Widow.
*a*Jean Baptiste Laffont.
Domitilde Alary, widow.
*a*John Dodge.[1]
Ambroise Glinel.
Antoine Lavigne.
Francois Drouard.
Francois Barrois.
Louis Pierre Francois Carbon-
Joseph Pagé. [neax.
Mary Rocheblave.
*a*Charles Dulude.
Ambroise Lavigne.
Jean André.
Charles Woods.
Elizabeth Labiche.
*David Hicks.
Joseph Libberville.
*Mathais Barker.
*a*Pierre Curé.
*a*Pierre Cailloux.
*Daniel Murray.
+Catherine Lasource, widow.
+Helen Lasource, widow.
James Watts.
Michael Derousse St. Pierre.
Francoise Tonton.[2]
Lardner Clark.
*William Wykoff.
James Piggot.[1]
Jacob Grotz.
*Charles Vallé.
Shadrach Bond.[1]
James Moore.[1]
James Garretson.
Benjamin Joseph Byram.
*a*Tobias Brashears.
*a*John Allison.
*a*John Williams.
*John Montgomery.[1]
William Drury.
*John — McCormick.
*James Kincaid.
Charles Gill.
*Windsor Pipps.
*a*George Camp.[1]
Nicholas Smith.
*Daniel Flanary, Junior.
*Elijah — Flanary.
*Thomas Flanary.
*Samuel Handley.
*a*Louis Villaret.
*John Harry.

[1 One of Clark's soldiers in his expedition to the Illinois.]
[2] To receive Don[ation at] Vincennes.

* ——— Mayfield.
* —— ———, his son in law.
*a*William Brocus.
*Richard Brashears.
*John Holloway.
Patrick Kennedy.[1]
* ——— Trentham.
*Thomas Bentley.[2]
*a*Israel Dodge.
Henry O'Hara.
——— Bellow.
*Heaton Wells.
Catherine Sanba.
Joseph Chauvin Charleville.
Jean Baptiste St. Onge.
†Baptiste Lasource.
†Jacque Lasource.
Charles LaChapelle.
Alexander Hilaire.
*a*Martin Carney.
‡Charles Robin.
Joseph Morensi.
Francois Charpantier.
Michel Danis, Senior.
André Fagot.
*a*Alexander McLosky.
Joseph Gagné.
Jean Beaudoin.
*a*Joseph Maisonville.
*James Morris.
Joseph Richard.
Jean Baptiste Tomur, Sen'r.
*a*Elijah Nelson.
Jean Baptiste Perrin.
*John Clark.
§Jerome Creli.
Joseph Tellier.
+Marie Anne Taumur.
||——— Jodouin, widow.
Larkin Rutherford.[3]
Elizabeth Raine, widow.
Pierre Picard.

N. B. Those marked with asterisks thus * are Americans and the whole as is now believed now residing in

[1 Author of a journal of an expedition in the year 1772 from Kaskaskias village in the Illinois country to the head-waters of the Illinois River. It is printed as an appendix to the third edition of Imlay's "Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America," published in London, 1797.]

[2 A trader at Kaskaskia who incurred the enmity of Rocheblave, and was by his orders arrested and sent to Canada, whence he escaped. A voluminous correspondence concerning this matter is preserved in the Haldimand papers.]

[3 One of Clark's soldiers in his expedition to the Illinois.]

† These persons supposed by Col. [Winthrop] S[argent?] to have died before the Country came into the possession of Virginia or the U. States & that their widow's names are inserted on the opposite page [200]—a cross against their names—they can't all be entitled.

‡ This is the same situation of Bapt. & Jacque Lasource, there is a + opposite the widow, her name is Marie Ann Taumur, widow.

[§] To receive Don[ation at] Vincennes. || Error, in Prairie du Rocher list.

the United States. The Heir at law of Charles Vallé one so marked was brought up at Vincennes and now is and for some years past has been at Dickenson Colledge in Carlisle in the State of Pennsilvania. None of them have claimed their Donation Lands, except an application made on Behalf of Mr. Vallé's heir at law.

Territory of the United States north west of the Ohio, Randolph County, ss.

Be it remembered that on the twenty-third day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven before us the Subscribers two of the Justices of the peace of the said County personally came Louis Pierre Francois Carbonneaux Esquire notary public at Kaskaskia in the said County and Jean Baptiste Gendron of the same who made oath according to Law and say that they have been Settlers and Inhabitants of the village of Kaskaskia aforesaid for upwards of thirty years last past, and that the persons whose names are contained on the left side of the foregoing six pages were Settlers and Heads of families in Kaskaskia aforesaid on or before the said year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three and had professed themselves Citizens of the State of Virginia And that those persons whose names are contained on the right hand side[*] of each said Page have since removed into foreign parts and have not by themselves or Heirs returned into Kaskaskia aforesaid to the Knowledge of these Deponents on or before the third day of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety six.

Sworn the Day and year above mentioned Before us

JN. EDGAR
WM. MORRISON

CARBONNEAUX

The mark of
X
JEAN BAPTISTE GENDRON

[* In the foregoing list these are indicated by an *a*.]

LIST* of the Inhabitants of Prairie du Rocher and St. Philips who were heads of families therein on or before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three:

Catherine Perier, widow.
Louis Lassonde.
Joseph Blay.
Jean Baptiste Barbau, Senior.†
Jean Baptiste Barbau, Junr.
Joseph Lavoie.
Gerard Langlois.
Aymé Comte, Senior.
Antoine Louvier, Senior.
Louis Doré.
Joseph Tangué.
Margaret Cochon, widow.
Degagné, widow.
Jacque Degagné.
Elizabeth Cotinault, widow.
Gabriel Docochi.
Antoine Domingue.
Jean [Baptiste erased] Dumartin.
Pierre Degagné.
Francois Camus.
John Cochran.
Francois Thibault.
Pierre Laroche.
Jean Baptiste Degagné.
Jacques Lasablonier.
Charles Laforme.
Marie Labrosse, widow.
Clement Drury.
Charles Cadron, called St. Pierre.
Charles Aimé.
Joseph Deçelle.
Girardot, widow.
Pierre Chevalier.
Antoine Louviere, Junior.
Louis Levasseur D'Espagne.
Jean Flandre.
Francois Bousseau.
Joseph Bellecour.
Pierre Louviere.
Jodouin, widow:
Pierre Allard.
Antoine Cotinauet.
Jacque Bouteillet.
Jean Baptiste Damour.
Joseph Crely.
Lemay.
Marechal, widow.
William Drury.

* This list is written upon three pages of a sheet of paper similar to that of the last mentioned list, and is wholly in the handwriting of John Rice Jones, as appears from the certificate of his son, Hon. Geo. W. Jones, now appended thereto. It is indorsed "List of heads of families in Prairie du Rocher and St. Phillip on or before 1783."

† Appointed commandant of Prairie du Rocher and captain of the militia, May 17, 1779, by John Todd; and later, elected one of the judges of the court of Cahokia by the people. In 1790, he was chief-justice of the court for the judicial district of Prairie du Rocher.

Jean Baptiste Jacquemin.	Catherine Ryan, widow.
Catherine Tangue, widow.	Josiah Ryan.
William Jean.	Henry Golding.
Josette Dilailite, widow.	Charles Renoux.
Thereze Lajoie, widow.	Mary Louise Aubuchon, widow.
Pierre Gibault.*	Jean Baptiste Richard.
Joseph Tangué, Senior.	Jean L'Allemand.
Nathaniel Hull.	Lawrence Kenyon.

Territory of the United States north west of the Ohio, Randolph County, ss.

Be it remembered that on the twenty fifth Day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven before us the subscribers two of the Justices of the peace of the said County personally came Jean Baptiste Barbau the elder of Prairie du Rocher Esquire and Jean Baptiste Barbau the younger of the same Esquire who made oath according to Law that the several persons whose names are contained on the two sides of this sheet of paper were the heads of families in Prairie du Rocher and St. Philips aforesaid on or before the year one thousand seven and eighty three.

Sworn the day and year above mentioned—Before us—
JN. EDGAR.
WM. MORRISON.

BARBAU.
BARBAU, fils.

List† of the Heads of Families in Cahokia and its environs in the Illinois Country in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Three, viz:

* Priest at Kaskaskia from 1768 to 1783, and rendered efficient service to George Rogers Clark.

† This list is written on a full sheet of crown water-marked paper, imprint 1794 in water mark, and the letters G. R. nearly cut away. It is indorsed "Lists of Heads of Families in St. Clair County."

Jean Bap: DuBuque.
François Le Fevre alias Courier, Senr.
François Longval, Senr.
Louis Gaud.
Joseph Lambert.
Charle Ducharme.
Louis Le Compte.
Widow Beaulieu.
Jean Bap: Saucier.
François Saucier.
Mathieu Saucier.
Jean Bap: Dumay.
Alexis Tabeau.
Joseph Le Page or his Heirs.
Joseph Cecire.
Joseph La Pensée.
Antoine Boyer.
Joseph La Buxiere.
Gabriel Barron.
Jean La Pensée.
Jean Bap: Barron.
Pierre La Fleur.
Widow Rassêtte.
Louis Le Brun.
François Trotier, Senr.
Michel La Grave.
Jean D'Hay.
Charle Le Fêvre.
Paul Poupard.
Jean Bap: Mulote.
Thomas Brady.
Marianne Le Boeuf, widow.
Louis Chatel.
Clement Allary.
Joseph Bissonet.
Louis Gagnion.
Thérese Pancrasse.
Louis Trotier.
Louis Pilet.
Widow Turgeon.
Widow Wattape.
Jean Bap: Bergeron.
Joseph Butteau.
Jean Marie Dorion.
Marie, widow of Jos: Allary.
Antoine Harmand.
Isabel Bequet, widow.
Jean Bap: Allary.
Laurent Amelin.
Joseph Déloge alias Poirier.
Charle La Croix.
Joseph Beguiere.
Pierre Martin.
François Gerome.
Louis De Longchamps.
Joseph Pelletier.
Michel Pelletier alias Antaya.
Phillip Engel.
Michel Girardin.
——— Ardouin.
Joseph Boisverd.
Phillip Gervais.
Charle Germain.
Widow Cabassier.
Antoine La Course.
Catherine Chartran.
Joseph La Coûture.
Widow of George Blin.
Joseph La Lancete.
Jean Bap: Mercier.
Catherine Langlois, widow.
François Turgeon.
William Biggs.

Pierre Gatien.
Bartholomew Dumas.
Raphaël Gagnie.
Mary Crow, widow.
René Locat.
Pierre Roy alias Cadien.
René Bouvet.
Jean Bap: Perio.
Mary, widow Mercier.
Joseph Dutremble.
Michel La Gaudiniere.
Mary Jeane Loisie, Widow.
Mary Louise Le May, alias Theophile.
Mary Moony, widow.
Peter Zippe.
Pierre DurBois, Senr.
Isaac Levy.
Joseph Vaudry.
Jean Marie Le Fêvre.
Antoine Girardin.
Joseph Andrews.
François Chevalier.
Pierre Guittard.
Mary, widow Chartran.
Charle Butteau, Senr.
Jean Bap: Boisverd.
Leon Le Page.

Personally appeared before me, William St. Clair, duly authorized by His Excellency the Governor of the Territory to take proof of those persons who were Heads of Families at Cahokia and its environs in the Illinois Country in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Three, Jean Bap: Du Buque, Jean Bap: Saucier, Esquires, and Charle Ducharme, ancient Inhabitants of Cahokia, who severally made Oath that the persons on the foregoing List were Heads of Families in the Illinois Country in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Three. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand at Cahokia, this Thirtieth day of September, 1797.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

List* of the Heads of Families at Cahokia, Prairie dupont, and the Americane Setlements of the present County of St. Clair and who were heads of Families in the year 1783—viz:

* This list is written on all four pages of a large sheet of old paper, watermarked with the crown and "G. R. 1794." It is endorsed "Lists of Heads of Families in 1783."

Jean Baptist Dubuque.
Jean Baptist Saucier.
Phillip Engel.
Antoine Girardin.
Mathew Saucier.
Jean Baptiste Allari.
Charles Germain.
Phillip Gervais.
Francois Saucier.
Franois Lefevre alias Courie.
Francois Longval, Senr.
Louis Gaud.
Joseph Lambert.
Joseph Poupard alias Dormeur.
Charles Ducharme.
Louis LeComte.
Widow Beaulieu.*
Felicité Antalliard, Widow of J. Bt. Dumas.
The Heirs of Alexis Tabeaux.
Charles Cadron alias St. Piere.
Widow Lapage.
Joseph Cecire.
The Heirs of Joseph Lapence.
The Heirs of Antoine Boyer.
Joseph Labuxiere.
Widow of Gabriel Barron [erased].
Jean Lapence.
Jean Bapt. Barron.
Louis Le brun.
Heirs of Francois Trotier.
Michel La Grave.
Jean De May.
Charles Lefevre.
Paul Poupard alias Lafleur.
Jean Baptiste La croix.
Thomas Brady.
Widow of Phillip Leboeuf.
Louis Chatel.
Clement Allari.
Heirs of Joseph Bissonet.
Widow of August Rasset.
Heirs of Louis Gagnion.
Heirs of Widow Pancrass, maiden name [Pa—r. blotted].
Louis Trotier.
Louis Pillet.
Jean Baptist Mulote.
Widow Nickolas Turgeon.
Heirs of Michel Charli.
Jean Baptist Bergeron.
Joseph Butoe, Junr.
Jean Mari Dorion.
Widow of Joseph Allari.
Antoine Harmand alias Sanfacon.
Heirs of Jean Bapt. Bequet.
Lawrent Amelin.
Joseph Poirie alias Desloges.
Charles Lacroix alias Hagon.
Joseph Biguiere.
Piere Martin.
Francois Gerome alias Lafleur de Pois.
Louis Delong Champ.

* The Widow Beaulieu was the daughter of a French officer once stationed at Fort Chartres, named Chouvin, who settled in the village of St. Phillippe. Here his daughter was born in 1742. She was educated at Quebec, and returned to Cahokia, to which place her father had removed, where she married M. Beaulieu. She lived a long and useful life, and died at the age of eighty-four in Cahokia.

Joseph Peletier.
Michel Pettier alias Antaya.
Heirs of Ardoin.
Heirs of Joseph Cabassier.
Widow Chartran.
Antoine Lacourse.
Joseph LaCouture.
Antoine Lamarche.
Widow of George Blain.
Joseph La lancet.
Jean Baptist Mercier.
Therese Poupard Widow Langlois.
Raphael Gagnie.
Widow Crow.
Heirs of Renne Locat.
Heirs of Piere Roy alias Cadien.
Heirs of the Widow of Jean Bapt. Chartran.
Heirs of Isaac Levi.
Renne Bouvet.
Leon Lepage.
Heirs of Joseph Dutremble.
Michel La Gaudiniere.
Widow of Louis LeMay alias Theophile.
Heirs of Michel Girardin.
Joseph Vaudiere.
Jean Baptist BoisVene.
Joseph BoisVene.
Widow of James Mooney.
Shadrach Bond.
Bartholemew Dumas or his heir.
Widow of James Moore.
Peter Zippe.
James Piggot.
Nickolas Smith or his heirs.
Heirs of Jacob Groots.
William Biggs.
Heirs of Belew.
Shadrach Bond [erased].
Elisabeth Raine.
James Garatson or his heirs.
Giroux.

Claude Chenier,* proved by the oaths of Brady and Pierre la pope to have been living in 1783 and had a numerous family, tho' omitted in this list.

St. Clair County, ss.

Personaly appeared before me, Jean Bapt. Dubuque and Charles Ducharme, Ancient Inhabitats of the Village of Cahokia, who being duly sworn do declare that the within List to the best of their Knowledge is Just and True and the erasures made at their Desire, in Testimony whereof I have to this set my hand Seal this 25th Apl, 1796.

CH. DUCHARME. WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.
J. B. DUBUQUE.

* This memorandum upon the original list is followed by this unsigned statement: "This memorandum is in the handwriting of Governor St. Clair."

St. Clair County, ss.

Personaly appeared before me, Jean Bapt. Saucier, Mathew Saucier, Jean Bapt. Allary, and Charles Germain, ancient Inhabitants of the Village of Prairie du pont in the County of St. Clair, who being duly Sworn did declare that the within list is Just and true to the best of their Knowledge, in Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Cahokia, this 25th Apl., 1796.

MTH. SAUCIER. J. B. SAUCIER. WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

I do hereby Certify to have examined the within list and find it just to the best of my Knowledge and Remembrance—in Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Cahokia, this 25th day of apl, 1796.

A. GIRARDIN.

Liste* Des habitans Resident aux Kaskaskias en 1790—Savoir:

Pr. Compagni.

John Edgar,† Capt'n. } Chef de familles.
Toimetre antaya. }

1 Antoine LaChapelle,‡ Garçon, Ensign.

* This list is written on a sheet of narrow, dark-colored paper, and endorsed "List of the two Companies of Militia at Kaskaskia the first of Augt., 1790.

† John Edgar was a native of Ireland, and once a British naval officer. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war he resided at Detroit, and was sent a prisoner to Quebec on account of his sympathy with the colonial cause, which his American wife encouraged. Making his escape by the way, he joined the troops of the colonies, and in 1784 settled at Kaskaskia. He was for many years the wealthiest citizen of Illinois, was elected a member of the legislature of the Northwest Territory, and one of the judges of the St. Clair circuit court, and held other offices. The county of Edgar is named for him.

‡ Antoine LaChapelle died in 1804, at Natchez, on his way from New Orleans in charge of a consignment to William Morrison. He was a son of Basil LaChapelle, who, with his eleven brothers, removed from Canada to Kaskaskia.

Louis Jermain, Chef de fam.
Nicola Canada,* idem.
Michel St. Pierre, idem.
Mad. v ve. Lachapelle, idem.

2 Lachapelle Bazille.
3 Baptiste Lachapelle. } Garçons.
4 Jn Lachapelle.

John Cok, Chef de famille.

5 Cook, fils, [erased].
6 Henry Bienvenu. } Garçon.
7 Michel Bienvenu.

Etienne Pagé, Chef de famille a militaire.
Baptiste alary, idem.

8 Bazil Alary.
9 Jerom St. Pierre.
10 Philipe St. Pierre.
11 Alexi Doza.
12 Fransois Lemieux.
13 Louis Lemieux. } Garçon.
14 Louis Jermain, fils, [erased].
15 Novêl Toulouse.
16 Pierre Toulouse.
17 Jn. Longvalle.

Antoin Provant.
Labrierre. } Chef de famille.
John Rise Jons.†

Bienvenu Perre.
Provau Perre. } Chef de famille.
Louis Louvalle.

P. Janis, [erased].—Transporte en L'autre Part.

* Nicholas Canada was an uncle of Pierre Menard's first wife, and one of the witnesses at their marriage, on behalf of the bride.

† Properly John Rice Jones, the famous lawyer above mentioned, who removed from Vincennes to Kaskaskia in 1790, and is borne on the militia rolls of both places in that year.

Suite De l'autre Part.

Blaise Barutel.
Glaud Lemieux.
aLexi Beauvais.
fs. Derouse, Dit St. Pierre. } Chef de famille.
fs. Tibeaux.
Pierre Richard.

18 Anbroise Delinel.
19 fs. Carbonnaux. } Garçon.
20 Aantoine Lavigne.

2me. Compagni. Savoir:

21 Fr. Janisse,* Capt'n Des millise, garçon.
Bpte. Lachanse,† lieutenant, Per de famille.
22 Jac Gautiaux, Enseigne, Garçon.

Baptiste Montureulle.
Jemi Coré.
Antoin Bienvenu, fils. } Per de famille.
Michel Danis.
Jerome Danis.

23 Jn. Danis.
24 Andre Sonn.
25 Philipe RocheBlave.‡
26 Antoine Bahatte, neveux. } Tous Garcon.
27 Baptiste Gendron, fils.
28 Jn. Quiquette.
29 Jerome Tibeaux.

Antoine Bayatte.
Jac Devaignais. } Chef de famille.
Jac Moraniy.

* François Janis, one of the witnesses at Pierre Menard's first marriage, on his behalf.

† One of the witnesses at the above marriage, on behalf of the bride.

‡ Philipe Rocheblave was the name of the last governor of the Illinois for Great Britain, and if this be the same man he must have returned to Kaskaskia after the Revolutionary war.

Michel Antaya.
Louis Laderoute.
Baptiste Laderoute. } Chef de famille.
Bte. Tomure.
Bte. Gendron Perre.

Transporte cy Contre.

Suite De Cy Contre.

Bhertelmi Richard.
Paul Nehaume.
Baptiste Degonier. } Chef de famille.
Made. vve. Tourangaux.*
Charl Danis.†

30 Vital Ste. Gemme Bauvais.‡
31 Gabriel Aubuchon.
32 Jn. Calais, rezidant Sure L'autre rive. } Garçon.
33 Pierre Menard.§
34 James McNabb.
35 Alexr. McNabb.
Alaint. Chef de famil.
Pierre Cristopher, Garcon, [erased].
36 Jacque Laderoute, Idem.
37 Pier le basque, garçon.

* Madame Tourangeau, the widow of Michel Godin, was the mother of Pierre Menard's first wife, and at her house in Kaskaskia their marriage contract was signed.

† Charles Danis, an uncle of Pierre Menard's first wife, and one of the witnesses at their marriage in her behalf. Doubtless a descendant of the Charles Danis to whom the first-recorded land-grant at Kaskaskia was made, May 10, 1722.

‡ Vitol Ste. Gême Beauvais. One of the six sons of Jean Baptiste Ste. Gême, called Beauvais, from his native place in France, who settled at Kaskaskia about 1750. He bought the property of the Jesuits there on its sale under the decree for the suppression of that order, and became the wealthiest citizen of his time in Kaskaskia. Vitol Ste. Gême Beauvais was one of the judges of the court of Kaskaskia, elected by the people, under the governorship of Col. John Todd, Jr., and afterward resided at Ste. Genevieve, Mo.

§ Afterward the first lieutenant-governor of the State of Illinois.

Liste Des Personne Etable Depuis 1790.—Savoir:

Jonatame Hauslay. } Chef de famil.
Marque Navelle. }

Antoine Navelle. }
Pierre Beguain. } Garçon.
Etienne Parard. }

fs. Charleville. }
Jams Dunn. } Chef de famille.
Mark Tomas. }

Wlliam Morisonne.* }
Jac Lasabloniare. } Chef de famille.
Jan Gomer. }
Jan Bte. Normand. }

fs. St. Pierre, Chef de famille.
Michel Lasassese.
38 Joseph Pagé, Garson.
39 François Janis.

Before me, Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, personally appeared Francois Janis, Captain of a Company in the Militia of Kaskaskia and being duly sworn deposeth and sayeth that the Persons whose names are inserted in the foregoing list, and opposite to which the word (Garçon) is written, were all borne on the Militia Rolls of the said Village, on the first day of August, 1790. In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand at Kaskaskia, the 4th day of October, 1795. AR. ST. CLAIR.

A list† of Capt. Piggot's Companey in the first regiment of militia of the county of St. Clair, the 26 Day of April, 1790:

* William Morrison emigrated from Philadelphia to Kaskaskia about 1790, and became a leading merchant there. He died and was buried in the old graveyard at Kaskaskia in 1837.

† This list is written upon a sheet of old foolscap paper, water-marked with

1 James Piggot,[1] Captn.
2 George Atchison, Leut.
3 Nathaniel Hull,[2] Ensn.
4 Benjamin Ogle, Sergnt.
5 Shadrik Bond,[3] Do.
6 Thomas Todd.
7 John Mordock.[4]
8 Samuel Morris.
9 Jesse Waddel.
10 Isaac Enix.[5]
John Simpson [erased].
11 Joseph Ogle—Senior.[6]
12 Do.————Junior.
13 Edward Todd.
14 Leonard Harness.
15 George Hendricks.
Larkin [erased].
16 Benjaman Rogers.
17 James Henderson.
18 James Lemmon.[7]
19 Peter Casterlin.
20 John Moore.
21 George Biggs.
22 William Piggot.

the word ROMANI upon one page and on the other with the letters T. R. It is endorsed "A list of those persons enrolled in the Militia in the Company of Captn. Piggott, in St. Clair County, on the first of Augt., 1790," and in another handwriting, "Certified by Gov. St. Clair." Below is written, apparently by Capt. Piggot, "List of Piggot's Company for the year 1790."

[1] James Piggot was a native of Connecticut, and early in the war of the Revolution engaged in privateering. Later he removed to Pennsylvania, and commanded a company of troops from that State at the battles of Brandywine and Saratoga. He followed Clark to the West, and was for a time in command of Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi, a few miles below the junction of the Ohio. He had served under Gov. St. Clair, who appointed him judge of the St. Clair County court.

[2] Nathaniel Hull was born in Massachusetts, and was one of the first Americans in the Illinois. He was a noted leader in Indian warfare, and in 1793 commanded a party of eight whites who defeated twice their number of red men in a desperate conflict at the Big Spring, in what is now Monroe Co.

[3] Shadrach Bond, Senior, one of Clark's soldiers, came to the Illinois in 1781, was a member of territorial legislatures, judge of court of common pleas of St. Clair County, and uncle of Shadrach Bond, first governor of the State of Illinois.

[4] John Mordoch or Murdoch, a famous Indian fighter, who swore unending vengeance on the red men because of his mother's death at their hands.

[5] Probably Isaac Enochs, a Kentuckian, celebrated for his contests with the Indians, and as the first convert in Illinois to the Baptist persuasion.

[6] Joseph Ogle was one of Nathaniel Hull's party in the Indian fight at Big Spring in 1791.

[7] James Lemen, a Virginian, soldier of the Revolution, one of Hull's party at Big Spring, and a leading Baptist preacher.

23 Laton White.
24 William Murry.[1]
25 Henerey oharo.
26 John oharro.
Jesse Ronn [erased].
27 George Wilkison — left the Country soon after.
28 Clement Drury.
29 Ralph Drury.
30 James Scot.
Thomas Bradly [erased.]
31 William Chaffin.
32 Samuel Worley.
James Hard [erased].
33 Josiah Ryan.[2]
34 Lawrence Kenon.
35 Daniel Shoultz.
36 Daniel Raper.[2]
37 David Guice.
38 Peter Zip.[3]
Thomas Marr [erased].
39 John Suliphon.
40 George Powers.
41 William Tobins.
42 Elexander Denis.[4]
William Jones [erased].
43 Isaac brison — left the Country about a year afterwards.
44 George Lunceford.[1]
45 John Porter.
46 Charles Gill.[2]
47 Robert Sybold.[1]
48 John—Jack.
49 Michael Huff.[5]
50 Ebeneazar Sovereigns.
51 James brian — left the Country.
52 Isaac West.
53 James Garison.

Before me, Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Territory northwest of the Ohio, personally appeared James Piggot, Captain of a Company of Militia in the County of St. Clair, and being duly sworn, deposeth and sayeth that the List of Names above written, is the names of the Persons enrolled as Militia, in the Company commanded by him on the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Cahokia, Septr. 28th, 1795.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

[1] One of Clark's soldiers. [2] One of Hull's party as above.

[3] Killed and scalped by the Indians in 1793, on the trail from New Design to Kaskaskia.

[4] Killed by the Pottawatomie Indians, returning from Cahokia to Chicago in 1802, near present town of Edwardsvllle, Ill.

[5] Killed by Indians in 1794, on the road between Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia. Step-father of Maj. John Moredock or Murdoch.

Roll* of the Company of Militia of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair Commanded by Francois Saucier, the first day of August, 1790:

Francois Saucier, Captn.[1]		Jean Bt. Mullote.
Bapt. Saucier, Lieut.[2]		Jean Bte. Bargeron.
Phillip Gervais, Ensgn.		Joseph Buteau.
Louis Lebrun.		Jean Marie Dorion.
Piere Lajeunesse.	Sergts.	Antoine Lamarche.
Bapt. Mercier.		Phillip Le Boeuf.
Paul Poupard.		Francois Trotier, Son of Louis.
Joseph Trotier.[3]	Corpls. Sons	Andrew Bequette.
Clement Trotier.	of	Louis Pansinneau.
Francois Trotier.	Francois	John Ritchy.
August Trotier.	Trotier.	Louis Lamarche.
Louis Trotier, Junr.		Louis Laflame.
Thomas Brady.[4]		Francois Grondine.
Louis Chattel.		Joseph Grondine.
Clement Allary.		Jaque [Bte. erased] Mullote.
Louis Trotier.		Nicholas Turgeon.
Piere Tecier.		Gabriel Marleaux.
Louis Pilett.		Joseph Trotier, Son of Louis.

* This roll is written on two pages of a single sheet of narrow paper of unusual length, bearing the water-mark of a crown and the initials G. R., and is endorsed "Roll of Saucier's Company."

[1] François Saucier was a son of Jean Baptiste Saucier, once a French officer at Fort Chartres, who, after the country was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, established himself at Cahokia. François and his brother Matthieu Saucier founded the village of Portage des Sioux, in Missouri. Pierre Menard's second wife was a daughter of François Saucier.

[2] A brother of the foregoing.

[3] A Canadian who settled in Cahokia in 1775, and conducted a large trading business with New Orleans.

[4] A Pennsylvanian, one of the only two residents of Cahokia at this time not of French birth or descent. He led a party of sixteen volunteers in 1777 to the capture of the British post at St. Joseph, and on his return was taken prisoner on the Calumet River by a pursuing force, but escaped and returned to Cahokia. Later he was made sheriff of St. Clair County. He was commonly called "Mr. Tom."

Alexis Chartran.
Piere Lizé.
Joseph Lachance.
Jean Le Renard.
Francois L'Abbé.
Dennis Valentine.
Francois Pencrass.
Jean Bte. Rupalais, alias Gonevile.
Gabriel Langlois.
Juliene Mercier.
Louis Gervais.
Pascal Letang.
Louis St. Germain.
Antoine Bellecour.
Alexis Courtois.
Joseph Beland.
Constant Loncting.
Charles Pilet.
Etienne Nicolle.
Julian Nicolle.
René Tureau.
Jean Bt. Chartron—alias La Becasse.
Laurent Jeunbergere.
Piere Antoine Tabeau.
Isedore La Croix.
William Todd.
John Hays.*
Joseph Vizina.
Jean Marie Comparet.

Personally appeared before me, Wm. St. Clair, Lieut. Col., Commandant of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair by Virtue of the powers Invested in me by his Excellency the Governor of the Territory, Jean Bt. Saucier, who being duly sworn did Declare that the above is a True Roll of the Company of Militia under his command in August, 1790, In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Cahokia, the 13th day of Apl., 1796.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.† [SEAL]

Roll‡ of the Company of Militia of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair Commanded by Jean Baptist Dubuque, the first day of August, 1790:

* John Hays is said by Reynolds to have emigrated from New York to Cahokia in 1793. This shows him there at least three years earlier. He was sheriff of St. Clair County from 1798 to 1818, supposed to be the longest term of office ever held in Illinois.

† A son of James St. Clair, once captain in the Irish brigade in the service of France. William St. Clair was the first clerk of the court and recorder of St. Clair County.

‡ This roll is written on two pages of an unusually long sheet of old

Jean Baptist Dubuque, Captn.[1]		Antoine Labuxiere.
Joseph LaPencee, Lieut.		Joseph Pariesien.
Mathew Saucier, Ensgn.[2]		Michel Pilet.
Francois Xavier Lapencee.	Sergts.	Francois Lefevre—alias Courier.
		Joseph Lepage.
Joseph Mendoza.		Joseph Chenie.
Piere LaPerche.		Baptist Chenie.
Michel Beaulieux.		Dennis LaVertue.
Joseph Manegre.	Corpls.	Louis Gendron.
Antoine Lepage.		Joseph Touchett.
Bartholomew Prevost.		Louis Rouliard.
		Piere Cleremont.
Francois Villareyt		August Cleremont.
William Arundel.[3]		Piere Picard.
Joseph Marie.		Louis Gaud, Junr.
Bazile Laflame.		Louis Relle.
Josiah Bleakley.		Jean Beaulieux.
Francois Demet.		Bazile Beaulieux.
Hubert Delorme.		Piere Chretien.
Joseph Hymen.		Joseph Goneville.
Francois Longvall.		Joseph Perie.
Hippolite Longvall.		Joseph Laplante.
Francois Campeau.		Edward Hebert.
Jaque St. Aubin.		Charles Buteau.
Joseph Demarais.		Jean Baptist Mitot.
Piere St. Aubin.		Louis Hermand.
Louis Bergeron.		Pascal Lefevre—alias Courier.
Louis Labuxiere.		Piere Durebois, Junr.

English paper, water-marked with the crown and "G. R. 1794." It is endorsed "Roll of Dubuque's Company."

[1] Probably a relative of Julien Dubuque, who lived at Cahokia before he established himself on the site of the City of Dubuque, Iowa, which is named for him.

[2] A son of Jean Baptiste Saucier, above mentioned, who afterward lived at Portage des Sioux in Missouri.

[3] The only resident of Cahokia at this time not of French birth or descent, except Thomas Brady.

Etien Cadron.
Charles Cadron.
Louis Bourassa.
Francois Chevalier.
Jean Munier.
Jean Baptist Hermand.
Antoine Hermand, Junr.
Michel Longvall.
Henry Birron.
Gabriel Tellier.
Glaude Chenie.
Piere Chartie.
Louis Gaud, Senr.
Francois Longvall, Senr.
Charles Ducharme.
Louis LeCompte.
Antoine Boyer.
Jean Baptist Barron.
Francois Turgeon.
Joseph Poupard.
Amable Macon.
Joseph Archambeau.
Simon Lepage.
Louis Coste.
Piere Pecard [erased].
Louis Genvile.

Personally appeared before me, Wm. St. Clair, Lieut. Col., Commandant of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair, by Virtue of the powers Invested in me by his Excellency the Governor of the Territory, Jean Bt. Dubuque who being duly sworn did Declare that the above is a True Roll of the Compy. of Militia under his Command in Augt., 1790. In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Cahokia, the 13th day of Apl., 1796.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR. [SEAL]

Roll* of the Company of Militia of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair Commanded by Phillip Engel, the first day of august, 1790:

Philip Engel, Capt.
Jean Bapt. Allary, Lieut.
Charles Germain, Ensn.
Baptist Chartran. } Sergts.
Joseph Lalancet. }
Piere Cabassier. }
Piere Godin. }
Tousaint Chartran. } Corpls.
Piere Martin. }
Jean Guitare. }
Jean Noel Godin.
Jean Bapt. Lalande.
Jaque Letourneau.
Raphael Daubuchon.

* This roll is written on two pages of a long sheet of old paper, watermarked with the letters T. R., surrounded by scroll work.

Joseph Lambert.
Joseph Desloges, Senr.
Joseph Deloges, Junr.
Jacque Mayiot.
Piere Martin, Junr.
Francois Noize, dit L'abbé.
Thomas Chartran.
Thomas Winn.
Amant Tellier.
Jean Bapt. Cabassier.
Michel Chartier.
Franois Renousse.
Joseph LaCouture.
Antoine LaCourse.
Charles Cabassier.
Antoine Cabassier.
Joseph Cabassier.
Charles Gill.
Andrew Marlow.
Michel Mitevur.
Renne Bouvet.
Franois LMay.
Joseph BoisVene.
Francois Cabassier.
Louis Bisson.
William Crow.
Ignace Grondine.
Louis Grosle.
Jean Lapence.
Andrew Bequet.
Joseph Pettie.
Lawrent Amelin.
Lawrent Lefevre.
Charles LaCroix.
Piere Guitar, Senr.
Piere Guitar, Junr.
Michel Antaya.
Louis Vadbonceur.
Paul Desloges.
Rock.
Piere Buteau.

Personaly appeared before me, Wm. St. Clair, Lieut. Col. Commandant of the first Regiment of the County of St. Clair, by Virtue of the Powers Invested in me by his Excellency the Governor of the Territory, Jean Baptist Allary then Lieut., now Capt. of said Company who being duly sworn did declare that the within is a just Roll of the Company then Commanded by Phillip Engel, in august, 1790. In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Cahokia, this 25th day of april, 1796.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

Roll of the Militia of Kaskaskia who were duly enrolled on the 1st day of August, 1790, and had done Militia Duty, and who have not obtained any Donation from the United States:

Bartholomew Tardiveau.
Francois Janis.
Antoine LaChapelle.
Bazile LaChapelle.
Baptiste LaChapelle.
Joseph LaChapelle.
Louis LaChapelle.
Francois Lemieux.
Michael St. Pierre.
Henry Cook.
John Cook.
Adam Cook.
Philip Derousse St.pierre.
Jerome Derousse St.pierre.
Joseph Derousse St. Pierre.
Jean Baptiste Derousse St.Pierre.
Henry Bienvenu.
Michel Bienvenu.
Bazile Alary.
Jean Baptiste Alary.
Alexis Doza.
Nicholas Cassou.
Louis Lemieux.
Charles Danis, fils.
William Morrison.
John Rice Jones.
Jean Baptiste Germain.
Louis Germain.
Noel Toulouse [erased].
Antoine Barutel, called Noel Toulouse.
Pierre Barutel Toulouse.
Henry Barutel (Toulouse.
Francois Barutel Toulouse.
Jean Baptiste LaChance.
Jacque Gossiaux.
Joseph Danis.
Joseph Anderson.
Anthoiny Buyat, Junior.
Augustin Royer. [oute.
Louis Seguin otherwise Lader-
Jacque Laderoute.
Louis Allaire.
John Baptiste Gendron, Junior.
Joseph Thuillier.
Jerome Thibault.
Pierre Basque.
Gabriel Obuchon.
Pierre Menard.
Vital Bauvais, Junior.
Michael Lasource.
Louis Buyat, Junior.
Charles Robin, Junior.
Pedro Christofal.
Alexis Morris.
Jean Baptiste Morris.
Philip Galloher.
Thomas Callahan.
Levy Theel.
Joseph Calais.
Joseph Lonval.
David Gray.
Jean Baptiste Thaumur, Junior.
Antoine Labriere.
Hipolite Laforme.
Jacob Judy.
Samuel Judy.
Francis Clark.
Louis Charleville.
William Young Whiteside.
John Knaresborough Simpson.
Hugh McDonald Chissolm.
Joseph Fernande.
Francois Dion.

Pierre Grenier.	Alexander McNabb.
Francis Montrie.	Joseph Tellier [erased].
Ignace Lagauterie.	Joseph Chevalier.
James McNabb.	Manuel Portugais.

Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio.—Randolph County, sc.

Be it remembered that on the twenty third Day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven personally came before us the subscribers two of the Justices of the peace of the said County, Antoine Peltier, called Antaya, of Kaskaskia in the said County, a Capitain of militia in the said place, who made oath on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God that the several persons whose names are contained on the two sides of this sheet of paper were on the first Day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety enrolled in the militia at Kaskaskia aforesaid and had done militia Duty as such and also that the said several persons have not to the Knowledge or Belief of this Deponent obtained a Donation of four hundred acres of land from the United States.

Sworn before us the Day & year above mentioned.
J. EDGAR.
WM. MORRISON.

The mark of
X
Antoine Peltier
called Antaya.

Roll of the militia of Prairie du Rocher in the County of St. Clair on the first Day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety who had done Militia Duty:

Charles Laforme, junior	Joseph Lavoye, junior
Jean Baptiste omier	Raphael Drury
André Roy	Francois Thibault, junior
Gabriel Decochy, junior	Louis Blay, junior
Joseph Blay, junior	André Barbau

Jean Baptiste Perin
Francois Tangué
Joseph Tangue, junior
Joseph Levasseur
Ambroise Levasseur
Joseph Comte
Pierre Camus
Francois Gerard
Etienne Langlois
Jean Baptiste Lajoye
Pierre Lajoye
Nicholas Witmer
Augustin Allard
Antoiue DuClos
Aymé Comte, junior
George Wittmer, junior
Nicholas Olivier
Francois Julien
Joseph Ferrier
Joseph Genereu
Pierre Picard
Jean Baptiste Thibault
Louis Levasseur
Augustin Girard
Jean Bapte. Culmaut*
Pierre Comte*
Jean Baptiste DuClos
Charles Chevalier
Tousaint Bavarel
Simon Toiton
Charles Thibault
Francois Coline
Jean Gomes

Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.
Randolph County, ss.

Be it remembered that on the Twenty Second day of October, in the year One Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety Seven, personally appeared Jean Bapt. Barbeau, Junr. Esquire, Captain of Militia at Prairie du Rocher aforesaid, who made oath according to Law that the several persons above and within named were on the first day of August, One Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety duly enrolled at Prairie du Rocher aforesaid and had done Militia Duty therein, and also that the said Several Persons have not received or obtained any Donation of Lands from the United States to the knowledge or belief of this Deponent.

Sworn the Day and Year above mentioned, before me a Justice of the Peace of the said County of Randolph. } BARBAU, fils.

J. EDGAR.

* These two are on the Captain's list.

General Return[1] of the militia inrolled in the (now) County of St. Clair on the first Day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety:

xCapn. James Piggot.
Lieutt. George Atchison.
x*Ensign Nathaniel Hull.
Thomas Todd.
John Moredoch.
Samuel Morris.
Jesse Wadle.
Isaac Enox. [Enoch]
Joseph Ogle, Senr.
Joseph Ogle, Junr.
Benjamin Ogle.
Edward Todd.
Leonard Harness.
George Hendricks.
Benjamin Rodgers.
James Henderson.
James Lemen.
Peter Casterline.
John Moore.
George Biggs.
William Piggot.
Laton [Leighton] White.
William Murray.[2]
Henry O'Hara, Junr.
John O'Hara.
George Wilkinson.
xClement Drury.
*Raphael Drury.
James Scott.
William Chalfin.
Samuel Worley.
*Josiah Ryan.
*Lawrence Kenyon.
Daniel Shultz.
Daniel Raper.
xDavid Guise.
xPeter Zippe.
John Sullivan.
George Powers.
William Robins.
Alexander Dennis.
Isaac Bryson.
George Luntsford.[2]
John Porter.
†Charles Gill.
Robert Seybold.[2]
John Jack.
Michael Huff.
Ebenezer Severns.
James Bryan.
Isaac West.
James Garretson.
David Wadle.
George Ware.

[x] "Received Donation."
* In Prairie du Rocher list.
† On the Donation list.

[1 This list and accompanying affidavit cover seven pages of old crown water-marked paper. The part of the sheet which in a corresponding list contained the initals "G. R." has been cut out. The names are all in the handwriting of John Rice Jones, and so certified by his son.]

[2 One of George Rogers Clark's soldiers on his expedition to the Illinois.]

Ebenezer Bowen.
James McRoberts.
Isaac Chalfin.
John Worley.
Thadious Bradley.
William Jones.
Christopher Smith.
Henry McLaughlin.
William Grotz.
Alexander Wadle.
Levi Piggot.
Alexander Atcheson.
Timothy Ballew.
William Moore.
James Head.
Jesse Raynor.
Hardy Ware.
Thomas Mars.
xCapn. Jean Baptiste Dubuque.
xLieutt. Joseph Lapence.
xEnsign Matthew Saucier.
Francois Lapence.
Joseph Mendoza.
Pierre Laperche.
Michel Beaulieu.
Joseph Manegre.
Antoine Lepage.
Bartholomew Provost.
Francois Villaret.
William Arundel.
Joseph Marie.
Bazile Laflamme.
Josiah Bleakly [erased].
Francois Deméte.
Hubert Delorme.
Joseph Hymen.
Francois Longval.
Hippolite Longval.
Francois Campeau.
Jacque St. Aubin.
Joseph Demaret.
Claude St. Aubin.
Louis Bergeron.
Hubert Long Vall.
Louis Labusiere.
Antoine Labusiere.
Joseph Parisien.
Michel Pilet.
Francois Lefevre, alias Courie, [Junr.
Joseph Lepage.
John Baptiste Chenie.
Joseph Chenie.
Dennis Lavertu.
Louis Gendron.
Joseph Touchet.
Louis Rouliard.
Auguste Clermont.
Pierre Clermont.
Pierre Picard.
Louis Gaud, Junior.
Louis Rohle.
Jean Beaulieu.
Pierre Chretion.
Joseph Goneville.
Joseph Poirie.
Joseph Laplante.
Edward Hebert.
Charles Buteau, Junr.
Jean Baptiste Methode.
Louis Harmand.
Pascal Lefevre.
Pierre Dubois, Junior.
Etienne Cadron.
Pierre Bourassa.

Charles Cadron, Junior.
xFrançois Chevalier.
Jean Munier.
Jean Baptiste Harmand.
Antoine Harmand, Junior.
Michel Longval.
Henry Biron.
Gabriel Tellier.
Claude Chenier.
Pierre Chartier.
xLouis Gaud, Senior.
xFrancois Longval, Senior.
xCharles DuCharme.
xLouis LeCompte.
xAntoine Boyer.
xJean Baptiste Baron.
xFrancois Turgeon.
xJoseph Poupard.
Amable Maçon.
Bazile Beaulieu.
Joseph Archambeau.
Simon Lepage.
Louis Coste.
Louis Goneville.
Antoine Grandbois.
Jean Baptiste Fleurant.
Jean Baptiste Champlain.
Gabriel Marleaux, Junior.
Jean Baptiste Marleaux.
Pierre Roilhe.
Francois Labuxiere.
Sanson Canadien.
Alexis Brisson.
Louis Beaulieu.
Pierre Jacques Foubert.
August Biron.
Raphael Langlois.
Louis Clermond.
Louis Pierre Levy.
Jacque Lamarche.
Jean Baptiste Girard St.
John Lyle. [Jean Pierre.
xCaptain Francois Saucier.
xLieutt. Jean Baptiste Saucier.
xEnsign Phillip Gervais.
xLouis Lebrun.
Pierre Lajeunesse.
xJean Baptiste Mercier.
xPaul Poupard.
Joseph Trotier.
Clement Trotier.
Auguste Trotier.
Louis Trotier, Junior.
xThomas Brady.
xLouis Chatele.
xClement Allary.
xLouis Trotier, Senior.
Pierre Texier.
xLouis Pilet.
xJean Baptiste Mulotte.
xJean Baptiste Bergeron.
xJoseph Buteau.
xJean Marie Dorion.
xAntoine Lamarche.
Philip Lebœuf.
Francois Trotier, son of Louis.
André Boquet.
Louis Panconneaux.
John Ritchie.
Louis Lamarche.
Louis Laflamme.
Francois Grondine.
Jacque Mullote.
Louis Giroux.

Jean Baptiste Leblanc.
Nicholas Turgeon.
Gabriel Marleaux.
Joseph Trotier, son of Louis.
Alexis Chartran.
Pierre Lize.
Joseph LaChance.
Joseph Grondine.
Jean LeRenard.
Francois Labbé.
Dennis Valentin.
Francois Pancrass.
Jean Baptiste Rapelais alias Gabriel Langlois. [Genville.
Julien Mercier.
Louis Gervais.
Pascal Letang.
Louis St.Germain.
Antoine Belcour.
Alexis Courtois.
Joseph Beland.
Constant Longtemp.
Charles Pilot.
Etienne Nicholle.
Julien Nicholle.
René Zureau.
Jean Bap. Chartran, alias Labou-
Laurent Jean Berger. [asse.
Pierre Antoine Tabeau.
Isidore LaCroix.
William Todd [erased].
John Hays [erased].
Joseph Vizina.
Jean Marie Comparet.
Jean Marie Bissonet.
Francois Young.
Louis Morin.
Joseph Grenier.
Hubert Mercier.
Etienne Pinsonneau.
Joseph Vaudry, Junr.
——— Alphonso.
John Brady. &
Antoine Gerardine, Jr.
xCapn. Philip Engel.
xLieutt. Jean Baptiste Allary.
xEnsign Charles Germain.
Jean Baptiste Chartran.
xJoseph Lalamet.
Toussaint Chartran.
xPierre Martin.
Jean Noel Godin.
Jean Baptiste Lalande.
Jacque Letourneau.
Raphael D'Aubuchon.
xJoseph Lambert.
Pierre Godin.
xJoseph Deloge, Senior.
Joseph Deloge, Junior.
Jacque Mayiot.
Pierre Martin, Junior.
Francois Lubbé [erased].
Thomas Chartran.
Thomas Winn.
Amant Tellier.
Jean Baptiste Cabassier.
Michel Chartran [erased].
Francois Ranousse.
xJoseph LaCouture.
xAntoine LaCource.
Pierre Cabassier.
Charles Cabassier.
Andrew Marlow.
Michel Metioier.

xRené Bouvet.	xLaurent Amelin.
Francois Lemay.	Laurent Lefevre.
xJoseph Boisver.	Charles LaCroix.
Francois Cabassier.	*Jean Guittar [erased].
Joseph Cabassier.	Pierre Guittar, Junior.
Antoine Cabassier.	xMichel Antaya.
Louis Bisson.	Louis Vadboncœur.
xWilliam Crow.	Paul Poirier.
Ignace Grondine.	Jean Francois Perrey [erased].
Louis Groslé.	Jean Baptiste Provost.
xJean Lapensé.	Louis Bibeaux.
Marrain Pancrass.	Pierre Locuyer dt St. Sauveur.
xJoseph Peltier.	Michel Roche.
xFrancois Gerome.	Jean Vandet.

Personally appeared before me William St. Clair Duly authorized by his Excellency the Governor to take proof of the Claims appertaining to the Militia of the County of St. Clair James Piggot Jean Bapt. Dubuque Jean Bapt. Saucier and Jean Bapt. Allary who severally affirmed that the Within is true Rolls of their respective Company of Militia in the Month of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Cahokia this thirteenth day of Septe. one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

To the Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esquire, Secretary of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio, now vested with all the Powers of the Governor thereof.

The Petition of certain Inhabitants of Vincennes, Most respectfully showeth:

That your Petitioners were heads of Families at Kaskas-

* On Vincennes list.

kia in the Illinois Country in 1783, where they are entitled to the Donation of the United States of Four hundred acres of land each.

That previous to the year 1791 they removed thence to this Place, where they have fixed their Residence.

They therefore pray that your Honour would be pleased to cause to be laid out for them, their respective Donation lands adjoining those already laid out for the heads of Families at Vincennes, agreeable to an Act of the United States, passed the third day of March, One Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety-one. And Your Petitioners will ever pray.

X JEROME CRELY.
X FRANCOISE TONTON.
X ANTOINE RENAUD.
pro. CHARLOTE RENAUD,
his heir at law

POSTVINCENNES, 26 Octor. 1797.

JOHN RICE JONES.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND PUBLIC CAREER OF THE FIRST PRACTISING LAWYER IN ILLINOIS.

By W. A. BURT JONES of St. Paul, Minnesota.

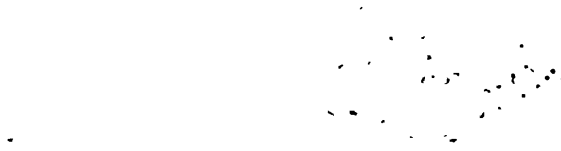
* * "A friend to truth, of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honor clear."

JOHN RICE JONES was born in Mallwyd, a beautiful village on the "murmuring Dyfi," in that wildest and most picturesque of all Welsh counties, Merionethshire, February 11, 1759. He was one of fourteen children and the eldest son of John Jones, Esq., a gentleman in good circumstances and of highly respectable social standing, belonging as he did to an ancient and honorable family celebrated in the history and poetry of his native country, "fair Wales, the land of song."

John Rice Jones received a collegiate education at Oxford, England, and afterward took a regular course in both medicine and law. He then established himself in the practice of the latter in London, where, in 1753, in St. George's Church, Hanover Square, his parents had been married, and where a number of relatives and friends resided. In a deed dated in 1783, and conveying to him certain property in Brecon, Wales, he, then a resident of the British metropolis, is described as "John Rice Jones of Thanet Place, in the Strand, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the County of Middlesex, gentleman," which locates him pretty closely in the great city a hundred years ago.

He came to America in February, 1784, and located in Philadelphia, where he engaged in the practice of his pro-

Jno Rice Jones



fession, and made the friendly acquaintance of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, Myers Fisher, the eminent lawyer, and other distinguished men, to some of whom he had letters of introduction. He remained here some two years, when, having long heard of the wonderful Far West, and evidently having strong confidence in the greatness and importance it would assume in the early future, he there decided to cast his lines, and accordingly set out on the long and tedious journey of over eight hundred miles to Louisville, Ky., his objective point, and then the most important American settlement west of the Alleghany Mountains, the trip to which was fraught with many perils and discomforts, yet which, we are told, was in many ways extremely interesting and enjoyable in a pleasant season of the year.

It is not known whether he came with his family from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt—now the city of Pittsburg, in the centre of a vastly-extended civilization, but then an isolated and lonely military post on the remote frontier—and thence down the Ohio River by boat, or came entirely overland by the only other route to the West, which crossed the Blue-Ridge Mountains above the head-waters of the Potomac, then led down between that range and the Alleghanies to old Fort Chissel, and thence *via* the Great Wilderness road, which admitted of only horseback and foot travel, through Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap. He reached his destination in safety, however, as, after his departure from Philadelphia, we next meet him at the Falls of the Ohio, or Louisville, where, in Sept., 1786, he joined the army of one thousand men raised and commanded by Gen. George Rogers Clark, under the authority of Virginia, for the suppression of the hostile Wabash tribes of Indians. Gen. Clark proceeded into their country some distance above Vincennes, when it was deemed inexpedient—owing to the partial loss of supplies, shipped

after them *via* the Ohio, and to the discontent and desertion of some of the troops—to proceed further, and the little army, abandoning the expedition, fell back to Vincennes. Owing to the exposed condition of that post at the time, it was considered advisable to establish there a military garrison, and the project was determined upon and carried into execution at once by a council composed of the field-officers of the Wabash expedition, the garrison, it was decided, to consist of three hundred men—two hundred and fifty infantry, and a company of artillery under Capt. Valentine T. Dalton. Gen. Clark assumed the supreme direction of the corps, and levied recruits, appointed officers, and impressed provisions for their support.* Of this garrison, John Rice Jones was appointed commissary-general, in place of John Craig, Jr., who was first appointed but did not act.†

At this time, negotiations were pending between the United States and the court at Madrid relative to the concession by Spain of the right to the navigation of the Mississippi River by the Americans. This privilege had always been vigorously denied the United States by the Spanish government, and had become not only a bone of diplomatic contention between the two countries, but a fruitful cause of ill-feeling between the citizens of the one and the subjects of the other living and intermingling on the borders of the western possessions of the nations concerned. The Spaniards there had repeatedly confiscated property of and committed other outrages upon Americans, and when an unfounded but readily-credited rumor came that congress had conceded everything to Spain, and that in consequence the citizens of the Far West would thenceforth have to champion their cherished cause alone and take care of themselves and their interests generally,

* Dillon's "History of Indiana."

† Dunn's "Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery."

intense excitement and resentment followed and prompted measures of summary retaliation for the depredations committed upon them in the past.

A systematic and vigorous course was adopted at Vincennes by Gen. Clark, under whose direction the garrison troops seized upon all Spanish property at the post and the Illinois, very considerable and valuable altogether, and turned it over to John Rice Jones, who as commissary-general, by regular appointment of Gen. Clark, retained a proper portion of the contraband property for garrison uses, and disposed of the remainder at auction* for the partial indemnification of citizens whose possessions had been as unceremoniously appropriated by Spanish pillagers. John Rice Jones was at this time only twenty-seven years of age, and his abilities and character must have been very marked to have secured for him in a brief period his considerable local prominence and, above all, the confidence and esteem, which he undoubtedly possessed, of such a man as Gen. Clark, "the Washington of the West, whose genius, abilities, and bravery, that elevated him above his fellow-men," rendered his friendship an honor to any man upon whom it was bestowed.

John Rice Jones seems to have become thoroughly imbued with the martial spirit of the period and country in which he lived. First we find him as a member of Gen. Clark's army, recruited at the Falls of the Ohio for service against the Indians of the Wabash; next as commissary-general of the Vincennes garrison; and after an interval of four years—a period in Mr. Jones' military history which the writer has no data concerning, but one in which the former no doubt continued his connection with the garrison until its dissolution in the summer of 1787, and from that time with local militia organizations—we accidentally discover him, so to speak, as one of "the effective men belonging

* Dillon's "History of Indiana," and Dunn's "Indiana."

to Capt. Pierre Gamelin's company at Post Vincennes, July 4, 1790."* This company was a militia organization designed to serve at home or in the field against the Indians, who throughout the spring and summer of 1790 "continued to wage irregular war against emigrating families and settlers along the borders of the Ohio, from its mouth to Pittsburg."

Their harassing hostilities occasioned Gen. Josiah Harmar's famous but fruitless expedition against them in the fall of this year, and called forth, under Maj. John Francis Hamtramck, the local militia, including Capt. Gamelin's company, at the post, in addition to the regular United States garrison under him, which garrison was established in July, 1787, by the then Col. Harmar, to succeed that of Gen. Clark's creation. Hamtramck's expedition as ordered by Gen. Harmar, who himself operated against the Miamis, was directed against the Wabash tribes. Before the approach of this command, which is known in history as the "Wabash regiment," the Indians, not staying to do battle, fled precipitately, deserting several villages and their contents, which were destroyed by the white troops. Mr. Jones probably took part in other campaigns against the Indians, but the writer has had access to but few manuscript records, official or otherwise, which are scattered, and has not chanced to find any published work giving further information on the point.

In accordance with the act of congress of March 3, 1791, John Rice Jones received from the United States government a grant of one hundred acres of land, located near Vincennes, Northwest Territory, for his services as militiaman, as also did three of his brothers-in-law, the Barger brothers, as will hereafter appear.† He had before this probably acquired considerable real possessions, and in a

* Law's "Colonial History of Vincennes."

† "American State Papers—Public Lands," Vols. I and VII.

few years became an extensive land-owner, as the early territorial records of both Indiana and Illinois, as well as the general government archives, abundantly attest. The Ordinance of 1787 imposed the ownership of considerable real estate conditional to eligibility to the higher civil offices, as it did in a smaller measure to the right to hold lesser ones, and even to the right of suffrage. It is likely that in those days of scarcity of money, John Rice Jones frequently had to take real property, or claims thereto, in exchange for legal services, and by that means, as well as by purchases outright, accumulated his many thousands of acres of land. In 1808, he paid taxes on 16,400 acres in Monroe County alone; he and Pierre Menard, Gen. John Edgar, Robert and William Morrison, James O'Hara, Richard Lord, and a few others, being heavy owners.

Unlike most pioneers, he did not engage in promiscuous pursuits, as trading with the Indians, hunting and trapping, cultivating the soil, merchandising, and so forth, but devoted himself entirely to the practice of his profession, in which he was very able, and to politics, in which he was as accomplished as he was influential, and cut an important figure. He very soon acquired and always continued to enjoy an extensive and lucrative law-practice, and this professional success combined with his reputation as a classical scholar, as a man of varied and extensive learning, of practical knowledge of men and affairs, and of great ambition, coupled with a mental activity and an energy of character equally remarkable, soon placed him among the most prominent men in a country where those of his qualifications and qualities were the exception and not the rule. As such a character he was found by John Gibson, secretary of the newly-formed Indiana Territory, on his arrival at Vincennes, in July, 1800. With Mr. Gibson he early formed a close personal and political friendship, and similar relations immediately grew up between

him and Gov. William Henry Harrison, after the arrival of the latter, in January, 1801, to assume the administration of territorial affairs.

Gov. Harrison at once recognized his abilities, and in the latter part of January or early in February, commissioned him attorney-general of the Territory, the first civil office ever held by Mr. Jones, so far as we are informed. We have it on the authority of historians that John Rice Jones not only enjoyed the political confidence of Gov. Harrison, but that their personal relations were of a very intimate nature, and that Mr. Jones exercised a by no means inconsiderable influence as an adviser of the governor up to the time of their rupture, in 1807–8. He continued attorney-general until the date of his appointment as a member of the territorial legislative council, in February or March, 1805, and therefore filled the former office for a period of exactly four years.

In December, 1802, there convened at Vincennes the famous slavery convention of that year, which, outside of the general assembly, was the first public body of a universally representative character to formally discuss the delicate question in all its bearings, and to lay the sentiments and wishes of the majority of the people of the entire territory before congress. The delegates, twelve in number, were chosen by the people in a regular election, held, pursuant to proclamation of the governor, simultaneously in the several counties, and who, of course, represented the predominating sentiment among their respective constituents. The members "ranked among the most intelligent and public-spirited men of the Territory," and were Gov. Harrison, Col. Francis Vigo, Wm. Prince, Luke Decker, Pierre Menard, Robert Reynolds, Robert Morrison, Jean François Perry, Shadrach Bond, Maj. John Moredock, and, it is thought, Davis Floyd and William Biggs. All are now historic names, and all were strong pro-slavists except

the last two, or whoever were the two representatives from Clark County.

Gov. Harrison was president and John Rice Jones secretary of this convention, which continued in session eight days, and on the last day, December 28, agreed on a memorial and petition, probably the work of the skilful, able, and fluent pen of their secretary, to congress. They prayed for the suspension for ten years of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, "the *Magna Charta* of the West," which prohibited, but did not prevent, slavery in the territory; and among many things, recommended Gov. Harrison for reappointment and John Rice Jones for chief-justice of the territorial court. Only two of the requests were granted: that for the payment of a salary to the attorney-general—to which office, then held as from the first by John Rice Jones, it is presumed fees had been attached—and that for the right of preëmption to actual settlers on public lands.

John Rice Jones strongly favored the advance of the territory to the second grade, or representative form, and used his influence toward the accomplishment of that end, which was achieved by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight of the freeholders of the territory at the election held September 11, 1804. Members of the house of representatives were chosen at the election of January 3 following, and that body convened at Vincennes on February 1, and, in accordance with law, nominated for councillors ten men whose names were forwarded to President Jefferson, for him to select from them those of five men to compose the legislative council. The president returned five commissions with the spaces for names left blank, with instructions to Gov. Harrison to choose out of the ten nominees the five best fitted, in the governor's opinion, for the responsible offices, rejecting "land-jobbers, dishonest men, and those who, though honest, might suffer them-

selves to be warped by party prejudices." Those selected, one for each county, were John Rice Jones, Benjamin Chambers, Samuel Gwathmey, John Hay, and Pierre Menard, all assuredly able men, whose superiors intellectually and morally it would have been difficult to find anywhere.

John Rice Jones was appointed from Knox County, the seat of government of which was also the territorial capital, Vincennes, and continued its representative in the council until October 26, 1808, when the governor, for reasons that appeared to him sufficient, permanently dissolved the general assembly—an act that was premature, in that it left no authorized body to organize the first legislature of the new Indiana Territory, as contemplated by law, and rendered special congressional legislation necessary in the matter.

During the second and last session of the second general assembly, which was the last held under the old organization, and which second session began on September 26, 1808, and continued exactly one month, John Rice Jones was president of the legislative council, the three preceding sessions of that body having been presided over by Benjamin Chambers. Immediately after the expiration of his service as councillor, extending over a period of some three years and seven months, John Rice Jones removed to Kaskaskia, the seat of government of the newly-erected Illinois Territory, whither he had removed from Vincennes in 1790 and where he continued to reside till about the beginning of 1801, when he returned to Vincennes. His son, Rice Jones, had located at Kaskaskia in the practice of law in 1806, and had become very prominent politically, having in the election of July, 1808, been chosen to represent Randolph County in the lower house of the general assembly, which office he continued to hold till the dissolution of the legislature in October

following, as before mentioned. John Rice Jones continued to make his home in Kaskaskia, after his removal thither in the fall of 1808, till his removal to St. Louis some two years later.

In 1805, a memorial to congress in favor of domestic slavery in a modified form and against a division of the Territory was introduced into the general assembly, but defeated; not on the slavery question, for both houses were overwhelmingly pro-slavery, but because a majority of the representatives in the lower house were friends of division. A petition embodying the slavery part of the memorial was afterward signed by a large majority of the members of both houses, in a non-representative capacity, and duly forwarded to Delegate Benjamin Parke in congress. Among the signers was John Rice Jones, a consistent pro-slavist, whose name, it appears, was affixed to various memorials and petitions presented to congress at different times in favor of the temporary abrogation of the much-discussed *sixth article* of the Ordinance of 1787, but who, so far as the writer has discovered, was neither a fanatic on the subject nor a holder of slaves, though he was abundantly able, as a man of wealth, to be an extensive owner.

If it was a heinous crime to advocate the legal suspension, by act of the supreme legislative body of the Nation, of the slavery-debarring provision of the ordinance under which the territories came into being, what was it to hold and traffic in negro bondsmen, in direct violation of an existing law, though that law was questionable as in itself a violation of three antedating promises and guarantees most solemnly made? Yet a great majority of the foremost men in the territories of Indiana and Illinois were slave-holders—men equally conspicuous for their intelligence, patriotism, and social respectability, as well as for their political prominence.

Among the leading public men besides John Rice Jones who were pronounced pro-slavists, were such characters as Gov. Wm. Henry Harrison, Secretary John Gibson, Delegate, afterward Judge, Benjamin Parke, councillors Benjamin Chambers, Pierre Menard, Robert Reynolds, Samuel Gwathmey, and John Hay; Col. Francis Vigo, Judge Jesse B. Thomas, Hon. Shadrach Bond, Gen. John Edgar, Gen. Washington Johnston, Judge John Johnson, and hundreds of other eminent public characters, extending down to the time of and including such men as Gov. Ninian Edwards, Judge Nathaniel Pope, Hon. Sidney Breese, Secretary-of-State Elias Kent Kane, and, in short, almost every man of public note throughout the Indiana and Illinois territorial periods, and many for long years after the admission of Indiana into the Union.

Such was the exalted public and private virtues of these men that they were then good enough company for anybody, whatever his pretensions to moral worth, intellectual attainments, or patriotism, to be in, and however such company might now be esteemed by a more virtuous age. All these men went to their graves honest believers in the perfect propriety of slavery, and while the institution as a political establishment has since been forever abolished by constitutional amendment and swallowed up in an ocean of precious blood, shed in part by some of those men's descendants, arrayed against one another in the deadly strife of fratricidal war, it is alone the province of that Judge before whom they have been called, as all others must be, to pass judgment upon their "iniquity" as absolutely conscientious upholders of a principle and practice their opponents could not possibly more honestly condemn.

Amid the discharge of his duties as councillor, his activity in politics, his attention to his professional business, always large, and to private affairs, and his domestic concerns as well, John Rice Jones still found the time to

revise and prepare for publication—in conjunction with Hon. John Johnson, another able lawyer and a member of the house—the statutes of the Territory, under the following title: "Laws of the Indiana Territory, comprising those Acts formerly in force and as Revised by John Rice Jones and John Johnson, and passed (after Amendments) by the Legislature; and the Original Acts passed by the First Session of the Second General Assembly of the said Territory, begun and held at the Borough of Vincennes on the 16th day of August, A.D. 1807." This revision had been adopted by the general assembly with but trifling amendment, "was a careful and thorough one," says Judge Howe,* and was long the main substance of the statute laws of both Indiana and Illinois.

In an act passed by the general legislature in 1807, incorporating the Vincennes University, now represented by both the Vincennes University at Vincennes and the Indiana State University at Bloomington, "for the instruction of youth in the Latin, Greek, French, and English languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, ancient and modern history, moral philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and the law of nature and nations," John Rice Jones, who had been one of its most zealous promoters, as would be naturally expected from one of his broad education, was named as one of the first board of trustees, which was composed of William Henry Harrison, Thomas T. Davis, John Gibson, Henry Vanderburgh, Waller Taylor, Benjajamin Parke, Peter Jones, James Johnson, John Badollet, John Rice Jones, George Wallace, William Bullitt, Elias McNamee, Henry Hurst, Gen. Washington Johnston, Francis Vigo, Jacob Kuykendall, Samuel McKee, Nathaniel Ewing, George Leach, Luke Decker, Samuel Gwathmey, and John Johnson†—"men who had large and liberal ideas

* Howe's "The Laws and Courts of the Northwest and Indiana Territories."

† Dillon's "History of Indiana."

of education, and who reflected the true spirit of the framers of the Ordinance of 1787."

An important piece of business to come before the second session of the second general assembly, begun September 26, 1808, was the election of a successor to Hon. Benjamin Parke, who had resigned as delegate in congress to accept a seat on the territorial supreme judiciary bench. Prominent among the prospective candidates before the legislature was John Rice Jones, who had been solicited by a great many friends and admirers to enter the contest. Local politics had become many sided and decidedly mixed; there were both pro-slavists and anti-slavists who were opposed to division, and also members of each of those factions who were in favor of that measure; and in this state of affairs the selection of a delegate was sure to be a prolonged fight, though the divisionists' success was assured. As an able man and an ardent friend of division, John Rice Jones was "the favorite of the people of the Illinois country, but the anti-slavery people would not support him because he had long been identified with the Harrison party, and was a pronounced pro-slavery man."*

Among other leading candidates was Speaker-of-the-house Jesse B. Thomas, who, though no less an out-and-out pro-slavist than divisionist, was finally compromised on by the antagonistic elements of his party, and elected; but not before John Rice Jones, who as president of the council or as a controller of other men's votes, evidently held the balance of power, had, conditional to his support of Speaker Thomas, required and extracted from him the most solemn pledges of fidelity to his party.† Remaining true to these promises, Delegate Thomas worked for and speedily secured the division of the Territory, to the hu-

* Dunn's "Indiana."

† Dunn's "Indiana," and Ford's "History of Illinois."

miliation of the Harrisonians, whose chagrin and rancor led at Vincennes to the hanging in effigy of the offending delegate. At Kaskaskia the feeling was equally bad, and produced among other serious incidents the passing of a challenge between Hon. Shadrach Bond, afterward governor of Illinois, and Rice Jones, ex-representative in the territorial legislature of Indiana, and a son of ex-councillor John Rice Jones, and finally ended in the deplorable assassination of Rice Jones by a dastardly partisan, who by instant flight from the country undoubtedly saved himself from summary punishment at the hands of an enraged community.*

Reference having been made heretofore to the rupture between Wm. Henry Harrison and John Rice Jones, and several historians deeming it a subject of sufficient interest to the public of today to call for more or less extended observations on their part, a few words on the subject will not be inappropriate in this sketch. One writer, whose strong prejudices, if not malicious motives, are evident, predicating a theory upon what later and obviously more just and careful historians consider imaginary grounds, for they declare that there is no documentary evidence as to what the real cause of the falling-out was, refers the "important event," as a judicious writer† terms it, to disappointment on the part of John Rice Jones, growing out of his failure to secure the bestowal of greater patronage of Gov. Harrison; and then in the same spirit this amiable writer proceeds to say that John Rice Jones made it appear that the ostensible reason for his disagreement with and consequent opposition to Harrison was a difference of opinion as to the expediency of the advance of the Territory to the second grade of government as early as that step was consummated.

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois."

† Dunn, in his "Indiana."

This statement is palpably false, inasmuch as all accounts agree that John Rice Jones was conspicuous as an active and zealous promoter of the second-grade cause; and if further refutation of the infamous charges,* direct and indirect, of the writer in question were needed, it would be only necessary to state the notorious fact that for years after the Territory had entered the secondary form of government, its executive and the subject of this sketch were on terms of close personal and political friendship, as reputable historians declare, and as is incontrovertibly proven by Gov. Harrison's appointment of John Rice Jones to high office in those later years,† as also by the testimony to their cordial relations up to a date so late as 1807–8, by other writers on Indiana history who have anything to say on the subject.‡

To the writer of these pages, the most simple, reasonable, and natural explanation of the rupture between Gov. Harrison and Councillor Jones was the question of the

* To asperse and misrepresent a living man on the anonymous charges and insinuations made against him by a partisan foe during the excitement of a heated political period, or by a personal enemy at any time, is bad enough; but to assault the character and violate the memory of a man long dead through the mediumship of just such irresponsible and infamous attacks, is infinitely worse, is the part of neither an honorable man nor a gentleman, but rather that of a vile traducer, and should be far beneath the dignity of anyone making pretensions to the claim of being an historian. In reference to such slanders, a man's friends may pointedly ask, in the words of Hon. Edward Everett, in a speech once delivered by him in the national house of representatives, "can any gentleman tell me how long it is since an anonymous miscreant, in the papers, accused Thomas Jefferson of having pillaged thirteen hundred dollars, I think it was, from the public chest? Has any gentleman forgotten that pathetic complaint of George Washington, that he had been assailed in language fit only 'for a pick-pocket—for a common defaulter?'" Verily,

"Be thou chaste as ice, as pure as snow,
Thou shalt not escape calumny."

† The second grade of government was entered upon September 11, 1804, and four months later Harrison appointed John Rice Jones a member of the council—a favor he would hardly have bestowed upon a political and personal enemy.

‡ Dunn, in his "Indiana," page 361, for instance.

division of the Indiana Territory. This question, as is well known, divided the people latterly into violently antagonistic factions, whose clashing sentiments on this one subject caused the severing of personal attachments between many individuals whose political opinions on other measures were either in perfect harmony or temporarily adjustable, but who were uncompromising on this; engendered wide-spread and all-pervading excitement and partisan feeling; produced in connection with the indirectly-involved slavery question, pro and con, strange combinations and associations of men and sentiments, and characterized the campaign preceding an election of two representatives to the general assembly, which chanced to become necessary at the time, as the most animated and bitter one that ever occurred in the Territory, before or afterward, or in that of Illinois. The successful candidates for the legislature in the election in question were Rice Jones in Randolph County and John Messinger in St. Clair County, both of whom were zealous divisionists.*

As has been intimated, the defeat of the Harrisonians or anti-divisionists was a crushing disappointment to them, for the results of the election placed the balance of legislative power, by a slight majority, in the hands of the separationists, and the loss of the election drove the rabid partisans among those who were opposed to division to extravagant expressions, actions, and acts, among the last the disgraceful proceeding at Vincennes, indicative of their despair and fury. John Rice Jones, who then lived at Vincennes, the seat of the territorial government, and in the county of Knox, the governor's favorite county and the stronghold of the Harrisonians, was as a pronounced divisionist and a distinguished character, doubly conspicuous as an object of dislike and abuse on the part of

* Edwards' "Illinois," p. 30; Address of Welcome by Citizens of Randolph County to Gov. Ninian Edwards, June, 1809.

many of those of opposing sentiments. Under the peculiar circumstances prevailing, no two men could be friends who openly avowed and publicly advocated conflicting views on the burning division question, and therefore John Rice Jones necessarily experienced a rupture with Gov. Harrison, who was, as is equally a matter of record, a radical anti-divisionist, using all his personal and official influence to defeat the friends of the Illinois-Territory project, as it was to his selfish interest to do.

From the date of their first acquaintance, early in 1801, up to the time that the question of the separation from Indiana of the Illinois country and its erection into an independent territory assumed importance in the public mind and began to be seriously agitated among the people, which was probably early in 1807, John Rice Jones and Gov. Harrison were personally and politically intimate, and they continued to be friends until probably about the middle of 1808, when their split upon the rock of territorial division became complete, and very naturally their relations afterward were not amicable; John Rice Jones, as he had the inalienable right to do, opposing, and that ably, and not alone but with thousands of his fellow-citizens, the policy and plans of the Harrison party, whose speedy overthrow in the latter part of 1808 may reasonably be accepted as a proof of the weakness and injustice of their cause.

John Rice Jones had not only been a personal friend of Harrison's, but also an able and valued counsellor of the administration, as well as a man of very considerable personal influence with the people. Consequently, as a recent careful writer* observes, "he was no small loss to the Harrison party. He was at that time a councillor, with more than two years to serve; he had a full knowledge of the inside workings of past political movements; he had the

* Dunn, in his "Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery."

ability to use his knowledge to the best advantage; and he was absolutely tireless in his political work." We thus see that he was qualified to make a powerful opponent of the Harrisonians, and indeed it is a matter of record that he and other leaders of the opposition "goaded their enemies almost to madness," and also gathered the people in such numbers to their support as to defeat the Harrison party in the memorable election of July 25, 1808, which gained for the victors their coveted object of territorial division, on February 3, 1809, by congressional enactment.

From an early day to the time of his removal, in 1810, to Louisiana, afterward Missouri, Territory, John Rice Jones enjoyed an extensive and lucrative practice at law, his eminent professional ability being universally recognized and in frequent demand. His practice extended from Cahokia to Louisville, embracing besides those places Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Vincennes, Shawneetown, and Clarksville, and also trans-Mississippi points, as St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, especially after the cession of that country to the United States, in 1803, by France.* No writer in speaking of him has failed to pay the highest tribute to his jurisprudential learning and ability, all agreeing with one who has declared him "a scientific and profound jurist, and through life a sound and enlightened expounder of the law;" and his contemporary political and personal enemies, like his *post-mortem* defamer, all conceded his preëminent talents and legal attainments. He was the first English-speaking lawyer in Indiana, and the first to practise his profession in Illinois, locating at Kaskaskia in 1790, and frequently attending court there and at other extreme western points after his return to Vincennes, some ten years later, to reside.

His knowledge of various national laws was remarkably extensive, embracing not only a familiarity with American

* Reynolds, Dillon, Dunn, *et al.*

principles and procedure, but also a thorough acquaintance with Spanish and French laws, particularly concerning the intricate subjects of land-grants and titles in the West; while as a consequence of his legal education and practice in England and Wales, he had a clear and full understanding of the principles and rules of law and courts of those countries, as references in some of his opinions as a justice of the supreme court of Missouri in a measure bear witness.*

In addition to his legal erudition, he was deeply versed in mathematics, "which he preferred to any other science," and was also an accomplished linguist, thoroughly grounded in Greek and Latin, and perfectly conversant with French and Spanish, as well as Welsh—his mother-tongue—and English, learned early in life. His knowledge of French and Spanish enabled him to transact business with great facility with the large portion of the inhabitants of the far-western country who understood only those tongues, and who did not often find a competent interpreter in their dealings with the English-speaking authorities and Americans in general. His intimate and correct knowledge of the latter two languages was not only of very great advantage to him in his law practice and private business affairs, but caused his services to be often sought as an expert translator of old documents and interpreter in courts for non-English speaking people. He was for some time official interpreter and translator of the French, by regular appointment, to the board of commissioners at Kaskaskia, appointed under act of congress of March 26, 1804, for the adjustment of land titles and claims in that district.† All historians also agree that he was a brilliant speaker,‡ and in oral debate and controversy, as also with the pen,

* See "Missouri Reports," 1820–24.

† "Annals of Congress," 15th cong., 2d sess., Vols. I and II; also "United States Statutes at Large—Private Laws, 1789–1845."

‡ Reynolds, Williams, McDonough, Dunn, *et al.*

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"a perfect master of satire and invective." One who knew him personally declares that while "his friendships were ardent and sincere, his hatred and anger were excessively scathing for the moment," and that "when his feelings of ire were excited, his words burnt his victims like drops of molten lead on the naked skin."*

In December, 1808, occurred that melancholy event heretofore alluded to, the assassination of Rice Jones, the talented son of John Rice Jones, at Kaskaskia. This lamentable tragedy, about which we shall have more to say in a sketch of its victim, was a terrible blow to his father, as may be easily understood, and its associations in Illinois were of such a sickening nature as to render a continued residence there objectionable. At this time, the upper Louisiana Territory, rapidly developing under the quickening influence of the United States government, but a few years previously extended over it, was attracting very considerable attention and emigration from the older settled sections eastward; and in the summer of 1810, in response to the earnest recommendation and urgent invitation of personal friends, Mr. Jones removed thither with his family, first locating at Ste. Genevieve, thence in a short time going to St. Louis, and after a brief residence there, removing to and settling at Mine à Breton, subsequently incorporated as Potosi, and which became the seat of Washington County on its organization in 1813.

Here he at once became largely interested and systematically engaged in the mining and smelting of lead ore, first in company with the celebrated Moses Austin and subsequently in connection with his sons. With Mr. Austin he erected the first cupola or reverberatory furnace ever constructed in the United States,* which was greatly superior to the primitive furnace that had been in use in the mines since the time they were first opened, about

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois."

1765, by Francis Breton, as well as throughout all the lead-mining districts in the country. He probably brought with him from Wales, in a large part of which mining of different kinds was then as now an important industry, some practical ideas on the subject.

The learned Henry R. Schoolcraft visited the Potosi mines in 1819, and in an interesting work* published shortly afterward, in describing the more important mines operated by "persons of intelligence and capital," says: "John Rice Jones, Esq., is engaged in penetrating the rock in search of ore, with the most flattering prospects, and is determined, as he informs me, to sink through the upper stratum of limestone and to ascertain the character of the succeeding formations. It is highly probable, reasoning from geognostic relations, that the lower formations will prove metalliferous, yielding both lead and copper, and such a discovery would form a new era in the history of these mines. The present mode of promiscuous digging on the surface would then be abandoned, and people made to see and to realize the advantages of the only system of mining which can be permanently, uniformly, and successfully pursued, *viz.:* by penetrating the bowels of the earth." The success of the experiments of Mr. Jones and Mr. Austin, each then operating independently and being the first to so experiment, had the effect of making deep mining popular, as predicted by Mr. Schoolcraft, and moreover rendered the entire mineral region a profitable field for operations for many succeeding years.

John Rice Jones' intimate and critical knowledge of the lead-mines of the district, including their output, state, value, characteristics, and the subject of the industry in all its aspects and stages, from the crude ore in the mines to the commercial article of pig-lead, with the items of cost of manufacture, transportation to foreign markets,

* "A View of the Lead-Mines of Missouri," etc.; New York, 1819.

etc., of the latter, etc., etc., is shown by a lengthy and exhaustive report made by him under date of "Mine à Burton, 6th Nov., 1816," to Hon. Frederick Bates, St. Louis, recorder of land-titles in Missouri, at the latter's request, and which Mr. Bates forwarded bodily to the commissioner of the general land-office, Washington, as his own report on the subject, which had been called for by the commissioner; Mr. Bates' report proper being a brief communication opening thus: "Sir:—While I was preparing to transmit to you my own opinions in answer to your inquiries of the 3d of July last [1816], I received a letter from John Rice Jones, Esq., who is a man of extensive and accurate observation, joint claimant with Mr. Austin in the Mine à Burton tract, and conversant, as I am told, with all the economy of mineral operations. After so minute and comprehensive a statement as he has given, nothing remains for me except a more special reply to your third inquiry." This third inquiry related to the "state of the land-titles generally," which Mr. Jones forebore to answer, "as it would be indecorous for an individual, even were he both competent to the task and possessed of the necessary information, to attempt to enter into a particular investigation of any land-titles," as he states in his letter to Mr. Bates.*

John Rice Jones became largely interested in mineral lands and other landed property while residing at Mine à Burton. By a legal instrument dated at "Mine à Burton, District of Ste. Genevieve, Territory of Louisiana, Nov. 8, 1810," it appears that he and Moses Austin were then joint owners of "the Mine à Breton tract" of land, "three miles square" (nine square miles, or five thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of rich mineral lands), for an interest in which and certain lots in the town of Herculaneum they had been offered $150,000, a large sum of

* "American State Papers—Public Lands," Vol. III, pp. 700–3.

money in those days, and for the purpose of engaging in the extensive mining and smelting business on which they at that time were about to consummate the formation of a powerful chartered corporation—the legal document named constituting an important preliminary step to that end. Mr. Jones died leaving a claim before congress for a tract of several thousand acres of valuable land in Illinois, on an appeal from the arbitrary ruling of the Kaskaskia commissioners, which claim was allowed his legal representatives so late as 1854.

John Rice Jones, who soon became distinguished in Missouri for his legal acquirements, his intelligence, his sound judgment, and his force of character, was, as one of the three representatives from Washington County and one of the forty-one that composed the body, "a wise and efficient member" of the convention that framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri. The convention met in St. Louis on June 12, 1820, and completed its labors July 19 following. After its temporary organization, he was one of a committee of five appointed "to draft and report rules and regulations for the order and government of the convention." He was one of four candidates before the convention for its permanent president, and, though defeated, he received a complimentary vote for the position. "The constitution was a model of perspicuity and statesmanship, and withstood all efforts to supplant or materially amend it until the celebrated 'Drake convention' of 1865,"* and as Gov. McNair declared in his first message to the first general assembly under the new form of government, was "a statesmanlike instrument that did honor to its framers and to the infant State for which it had been framed."

This first general assembly met in St. Louis in September, 1820, and among its first and most important duties

* Switzler's "History of Missouri."

was the election of two United-States senators. Hon. David Barton, a great and good man, was chosen on the first ballot, but the filling of the remaining senatorship was not so easily nor in the end unanimously accomplished. For that honor there were five aspirants, namely: John Rice Jones, Col. Thomas H. Benton, Judge John B. C. Lucas, and Messrs. Henry Elliot and Nathaniel Cook. John Rice Jones received a handsome vote, as also did Messrs. Cook and Elliot; but it becoming evident that the contest would inevitably narrow down to a struggle between Judge Lucas and Col. Benton, who were mortal enemies, the latter having a few years previously slain in a duel a gifted son of the former, the other three candidates withdrew, and according to their sentiments joined the Lucas or the Benton party. Though Col. Benton was finally chosen over his able and noble adversary, by very considerable manœuvring and by a slim majority of one vote, the contest for the prize was prolonged, spirited, bitter, and in some of its phases intensely dramatic, and forms one of the most remarkable and interesting episodes of the kind in the political history of the West. "The balloting continued through several days without success, and the excitement that prevailed has not been excelled by any senatorial election which has since occurred in this or any other state," says one historian.*

Of the two votes that elected Col. Benton, one was that of a Frenchman, Hon. Marie P. LeDuc, who had repeatedly declared that he would suffer the loss of his right arm rather than vote for Col. Benton, and who only changed his mind after subjection for a prolonged period to incessant argument, persuasion, and entreaty by a powerful combination of personal and political friends; the other vote, that gave the bare majority of one, was cast by Hon. Daniel Ralls, who, unable from illness to attend the joint

* Switzler, in his "History of Missouri."

session of the legislature, was finally carried on his death-bed, by four large negroes, from his room to the legislative hall, both in the same building, and was just able to vote, dying a short time after being returned to his chamber.*

At the same session of the general assembly, John Rice Jones was appointed one of the three justices of the supreme court of the new State, Mathias McGirk and John D. Cook being the other two; and after four years of service, alike creditable to himself, the bench, and Missouri, in this exalted position, he died while in office, February 1, 1824, at St. Louis, within ten days of the completion of his sixty-fifth year, at which age the constitution excluded persons from the supreme bench, and deeply lamented not only by the bench, bar, and general public of Missouri, but by a wide circle of personal friends throughout the country, among them many prominent men of the day. Conspicuous among those whose distinguished friendship he had enjoyed, were Hon. Henry Clay, Col. Richard M. Johnson, Hon. Pierre Menard, Hon. David Barton, Judge Alex. Buckner, Judges Mathias McGirk and John D. Cook—his associates on the supreme bench, Col. Henry Dodge, Hon. Edward Bates, Col. Thos. H. Benton, Hon. Wm. T. Barry, Judges Jas. Haggins and Jesse Bledsoe, Judge James H. Peck, Hon. Henry S. Geyer, Hon. John F. Darby, Hon. George F. Strother, Gen. Wm. H. Ashley, Hon. John Scott, Judge Nathaniel Pope, Judge Samuel McRoberts, Gov. John Reynolds, Hon. Ninian Edwards, the distinguished Morrison and Parker families of Kaskaskia and Lexington, respectively, and a great many more, whose friendship and esteem would have honored any man on earth.†

Having sketched Judge Jones' public career, as well as

* Darby's "Personal Recollections."

† Letter from ex-U.-S. Senator George Wallace Jones, who personally knew all the gentlemen named, and to whom they often spoke of his father, Judge John Rice Jones, in terms of respect and admiration.

our imperfect data would admit, it now remains to briefly consider his character and more personal traits, from the stand-point of those who knew him well in life, and who, therefore, may be considered competent authorities on the subject. Perhaps no fuller and more reliable description of him is available than that given by ex-Gov. John Reynolds of Illinois, in his valuable "Pioneer History." The author of that work knew Judge Jones personally and also was well acquainted with many men who knew him intimately—Hon. Robert Reynolds, the governor's father, and an old pioneer, among them—and as an unquestionably honest, truthful man, a close observer of excellent judgment, an industrious gleaner of facts, and a conscientious, careful historian, his statements are entitled to the fullest credit. This work of Gov. Reynolds has been largely drawn on by all subsequent western historians for biographical and other data preserved nowhere else, and his descriptions of many prominent men of early days if not all that is knowable about them are, at least, the foundation of all biographies of them.

This authority states that Judge Jones "possessed a strong and active mind, was rather restless, and excessively energetic. * * He always employed his time in some honorable business, and never permitted himself to be idle or engaged in light or frivolous amusements. Like most of his countrymen, he possessed strong passions, and at times, although he possessed a strong mind, his passions swept over his reason like a tornado. When his feelings of ire were excited, his words burnt his victims like drops of molten lead on the naked skin. He was mild and amiable until some injury or insult, as he supposed, was offered him, when he burst asunder all restraints and stood out the fearless champion of his rights, bidding defiance to all opposition. He possessed a great degree of personal courage. * * The death of Judge Jones was regretted

by a wide circle of friends and the public generally. His integrity, honor, and honesty were always above doubt or suspicion. He was exemplary in his moral habits, and lived a temperate and orderly man in all things. * * He was perfectly resigned to his fate, and died with that calm composure that always attends the exit of the noblest work of God, an honest man. * * The person of Judge Jones was small, but erect and active. His complexion was dark, and his hair and eyes very black. His eye when excited was severe and piercing."

We thus have a graphic moral and character portrayal and a life-like physical portrait of Judge Jones that must be gratifying to everyone interested in the distinguished subject of this sketch. The just eulogistic utterances of Gov. Reynolds could not be enhanced by the most ardent of friends and admirers, while to the personal description nothing is to be added of particular historical interest except, perhaps, that Judge Jones was very dignified in his manners, refined in his tastes, scrupulously neat in his person, and very particular in his dress, a part of which was the old-time knee-breeches, so closely associated in the modern mind with the antique cue, in which style he always wore his hair; and that besides being erect and active, as age advanced he developed that style of portliness that adds so much to the dignity of presence and manners.

John Rice Jones was twice married. His first wife was Eliza, daughter of Richard and Mary Powell, a native of London, born May 24, 1759, and married in St. Mary's Chapel—Church of England, to which both families belonged—in Brecon, Wales, January 8, 1781. Of this union there was the following issue:

Rice, born at Brecon, Brecknockshire, Wales, September 28, 1781.

John, born at Brecon, Feb. 10, 1783, and died in infancy.

Maria, born at Brecon, March 21, 1784.

Myers Fisher, born at Vincennes, Northwest Territory, U.S.A., March 11, 1787, and died at an early age.

The mother of these children was an accomplished and refined woman of gentle birth, and died at Vincennes, now in Indiana, March 11, 1787, deeply mourned by her devoted husband and children. A biographical sketch of Rice Jones, the eldest child by this marriage, follows in this volume.

Maria, the only daughter, who was at the time of the removal of the family to America, in 1784, too delicate, as declared by a medical adviser, to bear the fatigue of the long ocean voyage, was left with friends in Wales. It was the father's intention to return for her when older and stronger, but the early location of the family in the remote West, and the death there of her mother a short time afterward, precluded the execution of this cherished purpose while she remained a child, and when she was old enough to make the journey alone, she had become so beloved and loving a member of the most estimable family with whom she made her home as to induce her to continue a member of that household, though she subsequently paid several protracted visits to her relatives in America, between whom and herself there ever subsisted the tenderest attachment. In 1834, her half-brother William Powell Jones, U. S. N., visited her in Wales, subsequently accompanied her on a tour in France, and thence conducted her to the United States. Her deep and fervent piety and genuine Christian spirit, combined with a charming sweetness of disposition, great nobility of character, and cultivated intellect, secured her many devoted and undying friendships wherever she was known. She never married, and died among relatives and friends in London at an advanced age.

The second wife of Judge Jones was Mary, eldest

daughter of George and Margaret Barger, whom he married at Vincennes, Northwest Territory, February 11, 1791, four years after the death of his first wife. She was a woman of many virtues and of those sterling qualities of character that were developed in all women subjected to the refining and strengthening ordeal of the peculiar vicissitudes and conditions of life and society in the early West, whither her father with his wife and a large family of children emigrated from Pennsylvania and settled in the country northwest of the Ohio at a very early day.

The Bargers were of German ancestry, whose language they all spoke as well as the English and French. It is likely that the German was the first learned and for years the household language of the family, as the children of Mary (Barger) Jones relate that she always, even in age, said her prayers, learned at her pious mother's knee in childhood, in that tongue, though she was thoroughly conversant with both English and French, which she commonly spoke. Her father, George Barger, with other members of the family, were among those who had their claims under French or English grants confirmed by Gov. St. Clair of the Northwest Territory, under the resolves of congress of June and August, 1788,* and later by the U.-S. commissioners, appointed for the purpose of adjusting the old colonial claims; and her brothers Frederick, Peter, and George Barger, together with her husband, John Rice Jones, were members of Capt. Pierre Gamelin's company of militia at Vincennes, in 1790,† and as such took part in Col. Hamtramck's campaign against the Wabash tribes in the fall of that year;‡ and for these, if not for other services against the Indians, they each received from the general government donations of one

* "American State Papers—Public Lands," Vol. I, pp. 509–10.

† Law's "The Colonial History of Vincennes."

‡ Dillon's "History of Indiana."

hundred acres of land, conformably to the act of congress of March 3, 1791, as "militiamen duly enrolled in the militia at Vincennes on August 1, 1790, and who had done militia duty."*

It is a fact sufficiently curious and interesting to merit mention in this connection that no two of the four sisters married men of the same nationality or blood—Mary marrying a Welshman, John Rice Jones; Christina a Spaniard, a Mr. Roderiques; Elizabeth a Frenchman, Baptiste La Chapelle, a descendant of that Bazyl La Chapelle who settled in Kaskaskia about 1710; and Susan, the youngest, an Irishman, William Shannon, a merchant and banker and highly-esteemed citizen of Ste. Genevieve, and the early friend and patron of the late U.-S. Senator Lewis V. Bogy of Missouri.

Mary (Barger) Jones was rather small and slight in form, and had regular features and very black hair and eyes. She was of a very gentle nature, and highly regarded by all who knew her. She was born in Pennsylvania, May 17, 1767, and died at Potosi, Missouri, at her home with her son, Gen. Augustus Jones, on Jan. 6, 1839, having lived to a good old age and survived her husband some fifteen years. Following is a list of the children of John Rice and Mary (Barger) Jones, with dates and places of birth:

John Rice, born Jan. 8, 1792, at Kaskaskia, N.-W. Ty.

Eliza, born Jan. 10, 1794, at Kaskaskia, Northwest Ty.

Augustus, born Feb. 18, 1796, at Kaskaskia, N.-W. Ty.

Harriet, born Oct. 16, 1798, at Kaskaskia, Northwest Ty.

Myers Fisher, born Oct. 19, 1800, at Kaskaskia, Indiana Territory.

George Wallace, born April 12, 1804, at Vincennes, Indiana Territory.

Nancy, born June 17, 1806, at Vincennes, Indiana Territory; died young.

* "American State Papers—Public Lands," Vols. I and VII.

William Powell, born May 13, 1810, at Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory.

Of the above children, the following are brief biographical notices that may not be without interest in this connection:

Gen. JOHN RICE JONES, the eldest son, served under Capt. Henry Dodge in the war of 1812, and removing to Texas, then a Mexican state, as early as 1831, became identified with its struggles for independence; which gained, he became postmaster-general under the three forms of the Republic, provisional, *ad interim*, and constitutional—proof enough of his ability and fidelity—in the cabinets of as many of its executives, namely, Gov. Henry Smith and Presidents David G. Burnet and Mirabeau B. Lamar, respectively, and was a personal friend of and fellow-patriot with those men and their compeers, Hon. Stephen F. Austin, "the father of Texas," and his dearest of friends; Gen. Sam. Houston, Col. Wm. B. Travis, Col. James Bowie, Col. David Crockett, Col. Benjamin R. Milam, and the many others whose memories are justly dear to the people of Texas, and whose names are as "familiar in their mouths as household words." Gen. Jones was one of the two executors of the will of the heroic Col. Travis, the other being ex-Gov. Henry Smith.

Locating in 1831 at San Felipe de Austin, he was one of the first settlers of that place, which, as Austin, is now the capital of the great Lone-Star State, and for years was one of its prosperous merchants. He died in Fayette County, Tex., on his plantation, "Fairland Farm," in that eventful year in which the Republic he loved so well and had so long and faithfully served ceased to exist on becoming a state of the American Union—1845; and having married a daughter of Maj. James Hawkins in Missouri, in 1818, he left a large and respectable family of children

to cherish the memory and contemplate with just pride the record of a devoted father and a noble man.

Gen. AUGUSTUS JONES, the second son, was a private soldier in the second war with Great Britain, entering the service at the age of sixteen, and belonging, with his elder brother, to Capt. Dodge's company. For many years he was largely interested in mining, milling, and mercantile operations, and became a wealthy slave-owner and landed proprietor in Missouri, and later in Texas. He was a personal friend of Gen. Jackson, and during both terms of the latter as president served as United-States marshal of Missouri, during which period his valuable services, involving the performance of many daring deeds, evoked the formal acknowledgments of congress. He was for years major-general of the Missouri state militia; by a small majority was defeated on the Calhoun, or anti-Benton, democratic ticket for congress in his district, in Missouri, in 1844; commanded a company of volunteer cavalry in the Mexican war, during which he was for a time military-governor of Santa Fé, and in his younger days participated, as principal or second, in a number of duels. One of these was the fatal affair between Lionel Brown of Potosi, of whom Gen. Jones was second, and the noted Col. John Smith T.* Mr. Brown was a lawyer and a nephew of the famous Col. Aaron Burr, the slayer of Hon. Alexander Hamilton. The duel took place on the Illinois shore of the Mississippi River, at a point opposite Herculaneum, Mo., and resulted in the death of Mr. Brown, who at the first fire received a bullet in the centre of his forehead.

Gen. Jones died in February, 1887, at the age of nearly

* John Smith T was the odd name of Col. Smith. To distinguish himself from the many of the name, and also to indicate that he was from Tennessee, he had the "T" affixed to his name as a regular part thereof, by legislative enactment, in accordance with the laws of Missouri. He is said to have killed thirteen men in duels, and never to have missed his mark.

ninety-one, at Columbus, Texas, whither he removed in 1851. He was a freemason of high rank for nearly seventy years. He was thrice married, and left numerous descendants of great respectability. Among the sons was Augustus Dodge Jones, an able editorial writer and the talented author of the ingenious pamphlet "The True Method of Electing the President and Vice-President of the United States," which attracted considerable attention some years ago. He removed to California in 1850, where he resided some twenty years, and held various positions of trust, and edited and published a number of newspapers there and in Nevada and old Mexico, as also later in Arkansas. For some time he was deputy-surveyor of the port of San Francisco, and for many years was grand worthy patriarch of the order of Good Templars of the State of California. He died in St. Louis, Mo., in December, 1885.

Another son, William Ashley Jones, is well remembered as an early Iowa and Minnesota journalist and politician, and as a principal projector and executive officer of the first Minnesota railroad, the Winona and St. Peter —an enterprise in which he lost a large fortune. He was for years—in the '50's—a deputy U.-S. land-surveyor, as such subdividing extensive portions of Minnesota and Wisconsin; was one of two U.-S. commissioners appointed in 1855 by President Pierce to adjudicate the claims of the mixed-bloods of the Sioux nation of Indians to the great Lake-Pepin reservation, in Minnesota Territory; has held a number of honorable elective public offices, and at present is president of the Yankton, Okobojo & Fort Buford Railroad Company, a late project which has its headquarters at Pierre, South Dakota. A daughter became the wife of Dr. Stephen D. Mullowney, an able physician, a lieutenant in the Mexican war, and at the time of his death, in 1856, U.-S. consul at Monterey, Mexico. Another daughter married John P. Dunklin, a nephew of Gov. Daniel Dunklin of Missouri.

Hon. MYERS FISHER JONES, the third son, named for one of his father's distinguished Philadelphia friends, was a man of excellent mind and heart, and in the '20's and '30's prominently engaged in iron-smelting, milling, stock-dealing, and farming—with his slaves—in Washington County, Mo., which county he for a period represented in the state legislature. As an enterprising business man and citizen, he was selected as one of the representatives of his county in each of the two great internal-improvement conventions that met in St. Louis in April, 1835, and June, 1836, respectively, and which were composed of delegates, many in number and conspicuous in character, from every county in the State. They were the first important public meetings to discuss the railroad question in Missouri, and by projecting several lines of railway, "foreshadowed the system of roads now existing in the State and inaugurated the net-work of intercommunication which at this day encompasses the whole State." He was a member of the important committee appointed by the last convention "to raise means for a complete reconnoissance and survey of the routes of the two proposed roads, to secure the services of skilful and competent engineers, and to cause the work to be done with as little delay as possible"—duties which the committee duly performed.

Mr. Jones removed to Texas in 1839, where he became extensively engaged in farming and stock-raising on an eight-thousand-acre tract of land he had purchased, and also became locally conspicuous in defending frontier settlements against the frequent pillaging incursions of Indians or Mexicans, or both, he with his company at one time being absent from home three months in pursuing and punishing a desperate band of raiders, many of whom were killed and taken prisoners. He died in Texas in 1846. Twice married, he left numerous descendants of worth and most respectable character. One of his sons,

Oscar Peery Jones, served three years in the Mexican war, and another, Andrew Thompson Jones, was a young officer in the confederate army and twice made a prisoner-of-war.

Gen. GEORGE WALLACE JONES, the fourth son, named for another esteemed friend of his father's, George Wallace, son-in-law of Hon. John Gibson, secretary of the Indiana Territory, was educated at Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., whence he graduated on July 13, 1825. He was bred to the bar, but ill-health prevented him from practising. He was clerk of the U.-S. district court for Ste. Genevieve County in 1826; served as *aide-de-camp* to Gen. Henry Dodge in the Black-Hawk war, in several engagements in which he took a prominent part, in one having his horse shot from under him; was chosen colonel of militia in 1832, and subsequently major-general; also as judge of the county court, by appointment of Gov. George B. Porter of Michigan, at the unanimous petition of the bar.

In 1835, he was elected delegate to congress from the territory of Michigan, and served two years as such, and two years as delegate from Wisconsin Territory. In 1839, was appointed by President VanBuren as surveyor-general of the Northwest; was removed in 1841 for his politics, but reappointed by President Polk, and remained in office until 1849. In 1848, was elected United-States senator from Iowa for six years, and reëlected on Dec. 20, 1852, for six years more, officiating as chairman of the committee on pensions and enrolled bills and on the committee on territories. At the conclusion of his last term, he was appointed by President Buchanan as minister to New Granada, now United States of Colombia, South America. Recalled by President Lincoln in 1861, he was on his arrival in Washington most kindly received by that great

man, and fêted and feasted by the powers that were, including Secretary-of-state Seward, who subsequently issued an order for ex-Minister Jones' arrest after the latter had departed for his home at Dubuque, Iowa, and had him imprisoned, for reasons never made known, in Fort Lafayette, where he remained, for sixty-four days, until the accession of Secretary Stanton, who caused him to be immediately released.

Gen. Jones was the second of the lamented Hon. Jonathan Cilley, M. C. from Maine, in his fatal duel, in 1838, "on the Marlboro road to Baltimore from Washington City," with Representative William J. Graves from Kentucky. In an article on "Senate Eras," in *The Dubuque Times* some years ago, Gen. M. M. Trumbull, a graphic writer, thus refers to the subject of this sketch:

"Gen. Jones is today the most historic and perhaps the most remarkable character in the West. He sat in the senate with Clay and Webster and Calhoun, with Silas Wright, Benton, Crittenden, and Jefferson Davis, with Sumner, Seward, Chase, and Douglass. In the early part of the century, when Gen. Jackson was president, he sat in the house of representatives with Henry A. Wise and John Quincy Adams. His district included all of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. It now has over thirty representatives in congress. He left the senate, not because of personal defeat, but because his party had gone out of power in Iowa. The intimate and trusted friend of Andrew Jackson, the partner of Daniel Webster, he remembers Jefferson. On terms of personal acquaintance with nearly all of our celebrated warriors and statesmen, he numbered among his friends and enemies the mighty red kings, Black Hawk, Keokuk, and Poweshiek. A drummer-boy in the war of 1812, Gen. Jones is a young man yet. He walks erect without a cane, with a light and springy step, and claims none of the indulgence and im-

munities of old age." The distinguished gentleman is still in the possession of full mental and physical vigor at his home in Dubuque, and bids fair to enjoy life for many years to come.

Of Gen. George Wallace Jones' sons, George Rice Gratiot Jones was a captain of artillery in the confederate army, and as such taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Henry and sent as the latter to the Union prison on Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie; another, Charles Scott Dodge Jones, also served in the Southern army, as an *aide-de-camp* on the staff of Maj.-Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, until the former's capture in battle as a prisoner-of-war by the federals, who confined him in Fort Delaware for many months; while the other son, William Augustus Bodley Jones, being opposed to secession, early entered and served in the Union army. The first two were graduates of the Western Military Institute at Nashville, Tenn., in which Hon. James G. Blaine was at the time a professor, and the third named was partially educated there. Prof. Blaine was there introduced to Gen. Jones by Hon. Henry Clay, in 1850–1, as Mr. Blaine some years ago in Washington reminded Gen. Jones.

WILLIAM POWELL JONES, the fifth and youngest son, at the date of his untimely death, in July, 1834, from cholera, which he took when crossing the Mississippi River in a canoe at Dubuque, then in Michigan Territory, and died of shortly after reaching the western shore, was a passed-midshipman in the United States navy, and very shortly would have been commissioned a lieutenant, in which capacity he had acted in regular service at sea. He had just returned from a prolonged tour on the Continent and in England and Wales, for which he had obtained leave of absence for a year, and was visiting his relatives in the West before again reporting for duty at his post. Of a

bright mind, high-toned, and very ambitious, as well as of most engaging manners, he was a very promising young officer, as existing testimonials of his superiors in rank declare, and, if spared, in all probability would have in time attained an enviable rank and name in the history of the naval service of his country.

ELIZA JONES, the eldest daughter of Judge John Rice Jones, was married, in Missouri, to Hon. Andrew Scott, who was a native of Virginia, where he fitted himself for the law. He removed to Missouri at an early day, and was elected clerk of the house of representatives of the first territorial general assembly, and acted in the same capacity for that body at several succeeding sessions. In 1820, he was appointed, by President Monroe, U.-S. judge for Arkansas Territory, and as such officer organized that territory at "the Post of Arkansas." He was a man of much legal and juridical ability, and of the highest character, and throughout a long life a universally-respected citizen of Arkansas.

One of the historical incidents in his life in Arkansas was his killing of Gen. Hogan* in a personal *rencontre* at Little Rock, in 1827. Gen. Hogan, who was a large and powerful man, while Judge Scott was only of medium size, attacked the latter, and knocking him down with a tremendous blow of the fist, killed him it was thought by the by-standers. Recovering in a moment, however, he sprang to his feet, and drawing the blade of his sword-cane, then commonly carried, quickly advanced upon Gen. Hogan and drove the long, slender, keen weapon entirely through the latter's body. Gen. Hogan received a mortal wound, from which he a minute or two later dropped dead at his antagonist's feet, but not before he, Hogan, had desperately drawn the reeking blade from his body and

* It is believed by the writer that this was his name.

with it made a frantic lunge at Judge Scott, which would have instantly killed him by piercing him through the neck had not the innumerable folds of a fine Italian silk cravat, worn by Judge Scott, effectually turned aside the deadly weapon from its fatal course. Judge Scott immediately surrendered himself, and on his trial was acquitted by the jury without leaving their box in the court-room.

Among many descendants of Judge Scott are his children: Hon. John R. Homer Scott of Russellville, Ark., an ex-state senator and a captain in the confederate army; Mrs. J. Russell Jones, wife of the U.-S. minister to Belgium under his warm personal friend, President Grant; and the late Mrs. Benjamin Campbell, wife of the ex-U.-S. marshal for the northern district of Illinois,* both of which latter gentlemen reside in Chicago.

HARRIET JONES, the second daughter of Judge Jones, was twice married. Her first husband was Thomas Brady, who for many years was a prominent merchant and business man of St. Louis, as a member of the old and wealthy firm of McKnight & Brady.† He never held any public office; was born in Ireland, March 17, 1781; married to Miss Jones in Missouri in 1814; and died near St. Louis, October 11, 1821. This union was blessed with five children, one of whom became the wife of Col. George W. Campbell, deceased, late of Chicago; one the wife of Dr. Jacob Wyeth, a native of Cambridge, Mass.; and another the wife of Mr. Ferdinand Rozier of Ste. Genevieve.

* Mr. and Mrs. Campbell are the parents of Mrs. Gen. O. E. Babcock, widow of one of Gen. Grant's staff-officers.

† The members of this firm were John McKnight and Thomas Brady, and are not to be confused with their respective brothers, Thomas McKnight and James Brady, who under the style of Brady & McKnight were a later-formed firm than the preceding, though latterly contemporaneous with it. Says Darby: "The early records of deeds still show the immense amount of real estate owned by these firms in St. Louis city and county, and other counties of the State. In their day and time they also did the largest mercantile business in the City of St. Louis."

Some years after the death of Mr. Brady, his widow became the wife of the celebrated Hon. John Scott of Ste. Genevieve, an eminent lawyer and a successful politician, who figured prominently in the early history of Missouri as territorial councillor, delegate in congress for four years, a member of the first State constitutional convention, and representative in congress from 1822 to 1826. He was a native, as was also his brother Judge Andrew Scott, of Hanover County, Virginia, and a graduate of Princeton College. Says a recent historian:* "John Scott, a great lawyer, would have been noticeable anywhere, with his long white cue of hair hanging gracefully down his shoulders, or else clubbed and tucked up with a comb. A man whose conversation would interest you even in a fit of the toothache—a suave, courteous, peppery gentleman of the old school, who bowed and complimented and swore, as might be expected from the son of a planter of 'the slashes of Hanover,' who always carried dirk and pistol on his person, and was always ready to give and receive a challenge." He died at Ste. Genevieve in 1861. His descendants are numerous and highly respectable, among them the wife of Hon. Samuel Montford Wilson, the eminent lawyer of California, who for a time was influentially recommended for the position of secretary of the interior in President Cleveland's cabinet.

The daughters of Judge Jones were high-spirited women of marked intellectuality and character, and, like their brothers, were "a credit to the stock from which they sprung." In concluding this imperfect memoir, we reproduce the following observations, made by a well-known writer,† last above quoted, who in speaking of Judge Jones'

* Scharf, in his "History of St. Louis City and County."

† Franc B. Wilkie—"Poliuto"—the talented and versatile author and journalist, in a biographical sketch of Gen. George Wallace Jones, in *The Chicago Times* of February 20, 1886.

children, says: "It is rare in the history of families that so many sons have been born who were so even in their developments, and of whom each was characterized by a high order of ability both from nature and acquirement. Each of them rose far above the average level of men, and each played a conspicuous part in the drama of life."

RICE JONES.

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE LAST REPRESENTATIVE OF RANDOLPH COUNTY IN THE INDIANA TERRITORIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND THE VICTIM OF AN HISTORICAL TRAGEDY OF EARLY ILLINOIS.

By W. A. BURT JONES of St. Paul, Minnesota.

* * * "Oft and well
Remembrance shall his story tell,
Affection of his virtues speak,
With beaming eye and burning cheek."

RICE JONES, the gifted son and eldest child of John Rice Jones, by his first marriage, was born at Brecon, Brecknockshire, Wales, Sept. 28, 1781. In the autumn of 1784, he accompanied his parents to Philadelphia, whither the husband and father had preceded the wife and son in the foregoing spring to first satisfy himself as to the advisability of locating his family in the United States, and a few years later removed with the family to Vincennes. At an early age he was matriculated at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, the *alma mater* of so many eminent public men, and in due time graduated therefrom in letters and with much distinction. He subsequently took his degree in the medical department of the great University of Pennsylvania; but forming a dislike for the medical profession after a brief practice, he abandoned it and entered the celebrated law-school at Litchfield, Conn., at that time "the first institution of the kind in the United States,"* and which he quitted with increased honor after a period of intense application to

* American reprint of "Chambers' Encyclopædia."

study.* Returning to the West, he opened an office at Kaskaskia toward the close of 1806, and began the practice of law.

The career that opened before this extraordinary young man, intellectually brilliant, broadly educated, thoroughly equipped for his chosen profession and a life of usefulness and honor, and filled with the noblest aspirations, was indeed most promising, and moreover one that would undoubtedly have been realized in all respects but for his unfortunate active engagement in local politics, which then and for some four or five years later gave rise, in the western counties particularly, to party spirit of an intensely rancorous nature, and which raged with an unrestrained and almost incredible violence. Bitter partisanship on both sides characterized all the prominent politicians, conspicuous among whom was Rice Jones, who, though still very young, had risen by force of talents, zeal, and energy to the leadership of his party.*

It is not absolutely clear just what all the political differences between the parties were, but it is sure that the Indiana-Illinois territorial division question was a leading issue, coupled with the long-prominent slavery question, and equally certain that in time a great deal of personal jealousy and animosity aggravated, if it did not quite supercede, the political feeling. The long-continued excitement reached its greatest height in and immediately succeeding the memorable election of July 25, 1808, in Randolph and St. Clair counties, which was recognized as a life-and-death struggle between the pro-divisionists and their opponents throughout the territory of Indiana, and in which, as has been stated in the biographical sketch of John Rice Jones, victory perched upon the banner of the divisionists or anti-Harrisonians in both counties. In Randolph County, Rice Jones was triumphantly elected

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois."

representative in the lower house of the general assembly, and John Messinger, a member of the State constitutional convention of 1818 and otherwise prominent, was chosen to represent St. Clair County in the same body.

It was a self-evident fact, in view of the then composition of the legislature, that the triumph of the Illinois party would result in the final overthrow of the Harrisonians, hence the bitter fight and feeling; and this was consummated by the election, at the next session of the general assembly, as delegate in congress of Hon. Jesse B. Thomas, speaker of the house, afterward president of the first State constitutional convention, and a judge of the first territorial court of Illinois, who speedily secured the separation of Illinois from Indiana Territory and its erection into independent autonomy. This fidelity to principle, and also to his plighted word and written bond —for John Rice Jones, then a councillor, to make assurance doubly sure, is said to have required both from him before agreeing to his election*—brought upon his devoted head the execration of the anti-division party throughout the Territory, who, while they justly recognized him as the final agent in their defeat, very unreasonably and irrationally charged him, a notoriously avowed and foresworn divisionist, with perfidy, and in one community, Vincennes, carried their malevolence to such an excess as to hang him in effigy.

At Kaskaskia, the Harrisonians' chagrin and keen disappointment, both personal and political, at defeat in the county election and that of Delegate Thomas, assumed the character of deep-seated hate in some whose rage could scarcely be contained, and personal conflicts between gentlemen on either side were constantly imminent. This state of affairs continued to grow from bad to worse, until it culminated in the assassination of Rice Jones, a leading

* Dunn's "Indiana," and Ford's "History of Illinois."

member of one of the parties, which in a measure satisfied the malignity of the one side, warned the other as to what they might reasonably expect from their unscrupulous enemies if the antagonistic conditions between them were maintained, and "quieted the party feuds for a time," if not practically permanently.

In order to review all the circumstances immediately connected with the killing of Rice Jones, we must turn back to an hour in the past period of the heated political canvass preceding the election named, in which a challenge to mortal combat under the rules of the *code duello* passed between Rice Jones and the Hon. Shadrach Bond, an ex-representative in the territorial legislature, afterward a delegate in congress from Illinois Territory, and the first governor of the State of Illinois. Rice Jones accepted the challenge, named pistols as the weapons, and at the appointed time the principals, with their attendants, Wm. Morrison as Jones' second and Dr. James Dunlap as Bond's second, and their surgeons, met on an island in the Mississippi River between Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve.

In those days, pistols and guns were provided with the now obsolete hair-trigger, which, as defined by Webster, was "so constructed as to discharge a fire-arm by a very slight pressure, as by the touch of a hair," and when the parties had taken their respective positions and were preparing to be in readiness for the word "fire," Rice Jones inadvertently touched the sensitive trigger of his weapon, which instantly exploded. The fact that the bullet from the exploded pistol entered the ground a few feet from Rice Jones and not in the direction of Mr. Bond, perfectly satisfied the latter that the shot was totally accidental, and, high-toned gentleman that he was, he so unhesitatingly declared it when his second, the infamous Dr. James Dunlap, exclaimed that the accidental explosion was Jones' fire, and that Bond might and should fire at his adversary

in return. The contemptible proposition was scorned by Mr. Bond, and the difficulty between the principals was settled on the spot on terms equally honorable to both.

The difficulty between them had been entirely of a political nature, or at least not resultant from a deep-seated personal enmity, and therefore was susceptible of comparatively easy adjustment; but such was not true with regard to the ill-feeling which had long existed between Rice Jones and Dr. Dunlap, and which became more intense as a result of the latter's unmanly position on the subject of the unfortunate accident on the duelling ground. There ensued between them a bitter controversy, which was taken up by their respective friends, and that extended to an angry newspaper contention, in which the scathing and acrimonious pen of Rice Jones, particularly as employed in the composition of a certain satirical poem, drove his adversaries to a pitch of fury closely bordering on mania, and evoked from them dire threats of personal violence upon the object of their rancor.

The ill-feeling of older standing, above referred to, had its origin in the arbitrary official conduct of Michael Jones* and Elijah Backus, land-commissioners at Kaskaskia, to which they were appointed in 1804; conduct which was deliberately pursued with the purpose to militate, as it did greatly, against the interests of not only Rice Jones and his father, but many of the people of the district, large numbers of whom, as their personal and political enemies the commissioners, especially Jones, taking advantage of their official position to wreck vengeance upon the objects of their dislike, years subsequently "branded with *perjury and forgery* to an alarming extent—many of the best citizens in the county being stigmatized with those crimes, without cause, and when they had neither means nor manner of defending themselves"† against the infamous and

* No relation of Rice Jones.

† Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," pp. 297–8.

unfounded charges. Such men as Michael Jones* and Elijah Backus were the friends of Dr. Dunlap and other mortal enemies of Rice Jones.

The arbitrary conduct first referred to was justly strongly resented by many, among them John Rice Jones and his son Rice, who were not the men to tamely submit to the gross impositions of the commissioners or any one else, and who in consequence were thereafter made the special victims of the official despotism of the commissioners in question, so far as it was possible for them to exercise it; and the later political popularity and triumph, in July, 1808, of Rice Jones tended still more to make him the particular object of the dislike of his political and personal enemies, prominently among whom were the above-named Michael Jones and Elijah Backus, who, as is a matter of record, deliberately "urged Dr. Dunlap and others to persecute Rice Jones in every way imaginable."† A part of this persecution was a newspaper attack by them upon him, who, as has been stated, got the better of them in his replies and retorts. Their threats then made against his life became, in November, 1808, so open and loud, and rumors of the existence of a plot to kill him so definite, as to no longer be endured with the silence with which they had up to that time been treated. John Rice Jones, who had just removed with his family from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, accordingly addressed the following note to Elijah Backus:

"KASKASKIA, 25th Nov., 1808.

"SIR:—I have just heard of your threats of yesterday, that if my son did not go out of the country he should in

* It should be noted that Michael Jones was the Harrisonian candidate for delegate to congress, in October, 1808, and that his defeat only tended to more greatly incense him against his political opponents and those who were so unfortunate as to fall under the ban of his vicious displeasure.

† McDonough's "History of Randolph County," p. 105.

a few days be put out of existence—'*it will be done, it shall be done.*' I now inform you that he will remain here, and if he should be murdered, either by you or through your instigation, I shall know where to apply. I must, however, confess that the threats of poltroons can be considered in no other light than as those of assassins.

"Yours, JOHN RICE JONES."

It is not known what immediate effect this communication had upon the conspirators, but it did not prevent them from carrying into execution to the letter their diabolical plot, for on December 7, following, Rice Jones was shot down in cold blood in a public thoroughfare of Kaskaskia, by James Dunlap, the cat's-paw of his co-conspirators, none of whom had the nerve to assume the responsibility of the enactment of the bloody deed they were capable of conceiving in the wickedness of their hearts.

The following particulars of the deplorable event are taken from a detailed account of the murder and circumstances attending it, contained in a book found some years ago in the old mansion of Judge John Morrison, in Waterloo, Monroe County, Illinois, when that structure was being demolished to make room for other improvements. Extracts from "Judge Morrison's old musty record of the killing" were published in *The Belleville News-Democrat* of February 18, 1887, and are here reproduced. This singularly-preserved, detailed, and authentic account, evidently made not a great while after the assassination, and in the place of its occurrence, from oral accounts of eye-witnesses of the tragedy, and by a man minutely informed on the subject, possesses a great historic value and sheds new light upon the sad occurrence. It testifies that:

"Rice Jones was shot down by Dunlap about six yards above the old elm tree. Dunlap came out of E. Backus' house about ten minutes before he shot Jones. He (Dunlap)

was there in company with Backus. John Menard was at Dunlap's when he came galloping home from killing Jones, and told his wife, in the presence of John Menard, that he had 'killed the rascal Jones.' John Clino, living with James Gilbreath, and Robert Morrison saw Dunlap shoot Jones. McCall was talking at the picket fence of James Gilbreath's yard, McCall on the inside and Dunlap on the outside of the pickets, when Rice Jones passed out of Robert Morrison's yard, going down to J. Edgar's, when, after he had passed Dunlap and McCall down the further side of the street, Dunlap jumped off his horse and hitched his bridle on the pickets where he and McCall were talking, and started after Jones, who was walking down the street, when he crossed the street up behind him, a distance of one yard, and Dunlap told him to stop. Jones immediately turned around, and Dunlap said: 'I am going to revenge myself,' and instantly fired his pistol, about three feet from the body of Jones. The ball entered his body on the right side, just below the collar-bone, and came out behind, about five inches below the top of his shoulder, close by the backbone. William Morrison and McCall ran to Jones, and several persons asked him what was the matter, and he replied: 'That rascal, Dunlap, has shot me.' And Morrison asked him for what reason, and Jones answered: 'I don't know;' and said: 'I am gone,' and expired in about five minutes.

"The moment Dunlap shot Jones, he ran back to his horse where McCall had stood, jumped on him, and galloped off as fast as possible to his house, where he told his wife, in presence of John Menard, that he had 'shot that rascal Jones,' and immediately loaded his pistols and started off down the road toward the Point, in company with R. Porter, and has never been seen since."

Here the account goes on to say:

"It is well known that Backus, Robinson, Gilbreath,

Finney, Michael Jones, and Langlois were in Cahise's holding counsel to kill this man Rice Jones. The day Dunlap sent a challenge to William Morrison, Backus, Robinson, and Gilbreath were at Dunlap's, with T. Smith holding the door fast, while Capt. Bilderback stood at the door a long time and could not get in, although his daughter was at the point of death. At last Dunlap opened the door, and said 'the men were in council for *that purpose*,' intimating the killing of young Jones, and Gilbreath answered Bilderback and said his daughter would not die for one hour. J. Edgar saw these men go down to Dunlap's that day and remain nearly two hours, and from the movements of these men back and forward from Dunlap's house for some time before that day and on the very day Jones was shot, [there was no doubt] that these men were accessories to the death of Rice Jones."

If there were lacking anything to thoroughly convince the world that the persons who compassed the death of Rice Jones were actuated by the most virulent passions, the measure of proof would be filled to overflowing by the following blasphemous and altogether unparalleled utterances, quoted from the Morrison record, of one of them, whose spirit may be presumed to have characterized all of the conspirators: "James Finney* said in Folk's 'that if he met Jesus Christ in the street he would give his hand in preference to Dunlap, and if Dunlap went to hell he would go to hell also in preference to going to heaven; and if Dunlap was to go to heaven, he would get a higher seat in heaven than Jesus Christ, and be set at the right hand of God for killing Rice Jones.'"

The friends of Dr. Dunlap farcically pretended to claim

* This James Finney is presumed to be the one of that name who from 1795 to 1803 was one of the twelve men who constituted the Randolph County court of common pleas, other prominent members of which were Justices John Edgar, Pierre Menard, and Robert Reynolds.

that he did the killing in self-defence, but eye-witnesses declared it, as do all historians, a deliberate and cold-blooded murder, by the law of both God and man—a fact of which Dunlap was perfectly well aware and knew would be easily proven, as is evidenced by his immediate abandonment of wife and children and flight to far-off Texas, as was subsequently learned, whence he never returned to answer for his crime in the temporal courts of Illinois. It was no doubt a part of the prearranged plan for Dunlap to flee the country, that he could not be brought to trial, in which his evidence would have hopelessly implicated his companions in crime as immediate accessories to the assassination. The case was brought to the attention of the grand jury, which, after bringing in an indictment against Dunlap for murder, also indicted Michael Jones, because "he did, on the 6th day of December, 1808, incite, move, aid, and abet, feloneously and with malice aforethought, the said James Dunlap to commit the crime of murder."

When the case of The United States *versus* Michael Jones was reached on the calendar of the territorial circuit court, in September, 1809, Judges Alexander Stuart, Obadiah Jones, and Jesse B. Thomas presiding, the prosecuting-attorney, B. H. Doyle, presenting an affidavit of Archibald McKnabb, "an important witness," to the effect that he was too sick to attend court, asked for a continuance of the trial, which being granted, Michael Jones was admitted to bail in the sum of $3000, his sureties being John McFerron, Shadrach Bond, jr., Thomas Leavens, Henry Leavens, Henry Connor, and Samuel Cochran. The postponed case came up for trial on April 10, 1810, before a jury consisting of Wm. Rector, Paul Harralson, Thomas Wideman, Wm. McBride, John Anderson, George Franklin, David Anderson, John McFerron, Henry Connor, Geo. Creath, Jacob Funk, and James Fulton, who brought in a

verdict of acquittal. As "there were probable grounds for preferring the indictment," the court "exonerated the prosecutor—John Rice Jones?—from paying the costs!"*

The fact that among the jurors were two of the accused man's bondsmen and sympathetic personal friends, and other peculiar circumstances of the conduct of the case and trial, may not have any significance; but it is fair to infer that men who would be so far influenced by "hate that sins" and rank envy as to coolly plot the deliberate murder of a fellowman, would not scruple to avail themselves of any foul means that could be employed toward the acquittal of one on trial for complicity in a crime to the committing of which they all contributed and in the perpetration of which they gloried—the death of one whose brilliancy, virtues, personal popularity with the people, and promise of great political and professional success, filled his enemies with a jealousy which, with the disappointment of political defeat and the pruriency of personal enmity, simply made the matter of his removal imperatively necessary to their peace of mind. These are the conclusions that force themselves upon the mind when the facts and circumstances preceding and attending the murder are studied in their true relations.

While it is a matter of historical record that "the whole community mourned the death of this fine young man, cut off in his prime by an assassin," it is equally certain that the finding of the jury was not in accord with the popular verdict; for familiar as they must have been, from the notoriously open threats and malevolent actions of the enemies of the murdered man, with the circumstances leading up to the killing, the people knew, however a jury might decide, that James Dunlap was guilty of murder in the first degree, and that Michael Jones, Elijah Backus, James Gilbreath, James Finney, and their worthy *confrères*

* McDonough's "History of Randolph County, Ill."

were immediate accessories to the atrocious crime; and as such they will go down in history—gloriously to them, in their own estimation, be it said, if they died entertaining the shocking sentiments heretofore quoted as expressed by the blasphemous Finney, one of the immortal band.

Of the abilities and qualities of Rice Jones, it is here and now unnecessary to speak at length, as all writers concede his extraordinary capacity, his brilliant talents, and his varied mental attainments; while his noble personal characteristics were such as to greatly endear him to the mass of the people, whose hearts were not of that unhappy kind that beat in the breasts of his implacable enemies. However preëminent a man may be intellectually, if detestable traits and odious conduct distinguish him, "the entire community" in which he dwells never grieves for him, as did the people of Kaskaskia and the county of Randolph for Rice Jones. While they abhorred his slayers and their bloody deed, they mourned his death and his tragic fate, because

> "His life was noble, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, This was a man."

Ex-Gov. Reynolds of Illinois, who knew him personally and was intimate with many public men and others who knew him well, writing so late as 1852, declares that "judging from the character he acquired at school and from what was known of him at Kaskaskia, it is not improbable that his superior was not in the country before or after his death. * * He possessed a strong intellect and was also endowed with an excessive ambition, together with an ardent and impetuous disposition that showed the Welsh temperament more than his father," and that, altogether, "he was a young man of exceedingly great promise." Another historian, in concluding a notice of him,

declares that in his untimely death "the bar of Illinois was deprived of one of its most promising members and politics of a bright particular star;" and all writers who have occasion to speak of him, without exception, express similar glowing opinions of him.

One of his classmates at the Transylvania University, who afterward became nationally eminent as a U.-S. senator from Kentucky and as vice-president of the United States, the learned and brilliant Col. Richard Mentor Johnson, often spoke of him to Gen. Geo. Wallace Jones, who sat with Johnson in the national senate and was a half-brother of Rice Jones, and declared him, the latter, one of the most gifted men he had ever known. Such having been the case, who can help but think that had he not fallen a victim to the deadly hatred of assassins he would have become one of the most distinguished sons of his adopted State, and left a name that she would have proudly cherished forever among those of the illustrious men who have made her history so glorious. Yet she will not forget him whose able and zealous advocacy of her claims to recognition as a territory was largely instrumental in defeating the machinations of her enemies and speedily placing her on the way to early admission and that proud place among the sisterhood of states which she soon achieved, has ever maintained, and will continue to grace.*

* The address of welcome of the citizens of Randolph County to Gov. Ninian Edwards on his arrival in Kaskaskia in June, 1809, opens thus: "Presuming that you may be in some degree unacquainted with the feelings and sentiments of the citizens at this important crisis, we can not forbear to express our hopes that you will take into consideration that the majority, whose incessant exertions effectuated a division of the territory, have a claim on your excellency for the calumnies, indignities, and other enormities which those who opposed that measure never ceased to heap upon the friends and advocates of the present system of our government. In announcing these truths, while we deplore that the gentleman [Jesse B. Thomas] who was elected to congress and ultimately succeeded in obtaining justice for us, was hung in effigy at Vincennes, by the opposers of the division, and that one

Still he died neither unwept nor unsung, and chroniclers of early Illinois history will continue to pay that just tribute to his talents, his character, and his patriotic services first contained in the writings of that impartial historian and nobleman, the late ex-Gov. John Reynolds. Well may each one who has honorably figured in the history of his country, his state, or his community,

"Wish no other herald,
No other speaker of his living actions,
To keep his honor from corruption,
Than such an honest chronicler."

To this day, the spot near "the old elm tree," where Rice Jones fell mortally wounded and a moment afterward expired, on that memorable December day, full four score years ago, is pointed out to visitors by the people of Kaskaskia, where

"The soft memory of his virtues yet
Lingers, like twilight hues when the bright sun is set."

of the warmest friends and ablest advocates of the measure [Rice Jones] was assassinated at Kaskaskia, in consequence of their machinations, we derive great consolation from a firm belief that your excellency will gratify the virtuous majority, to whose patriotic exertions the citizens are indebted for the government of their choice, and your excellency your high station, with that honorable indemnity which is in your gift, and which would be considered by them as a remuneration for all those indignities, and a pledge of their future support to your administration."—Edwards' "History of Illinois," pp. 29–30.

Note to be read after second paragraph on page 239:

Since writing the above, the author has learned from a reliable source that John Rice Jones owned slaves at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, and Potosi, or during the entire period dating from shortly after his coming to the Northwest Territory, in 1786, if not before, to the time of his death, in Missouri, in 1824. All of his children were likewise slave-owners.

JOHN TODD.

JOHN TODD, the first civil governor under the laws of Virginia of the region of which the State of Illinois is a part, was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on March 27, 1750. He was a son of David Todd and Hannah Owen, and was early left an orphan. He and his brother Levi came under the care of their uncle, Rev. John Todd, in distinction from whom the subject of this sketch was known as John Todd, Junior. He received his early education at the classical academy of this uncle, in Louisa County, Virginia. This county adjoined that of Hanover, where Patrick Henry spent his early life. Mr. Henry was elected to the house of burgesses, by Louisa County, and he afterward removed there. In its courts he practised law, and it is probable that he thus became acquainted with John Todd in his youth, and his early impressions of him may have had something to do with his after-selection of Todd for the important position of county-lieutenant of Illinois.

Todd studied law with Gen. Andrew Lewis, and practised his profession for a short time in the counties of Botetourt and Bedford, in Virginia. He served as aid to Gen. Lewis at the battle of Point Pleasant and in the campaign of 1774 against the Scioto towns. In the following year he removed to Kentucky, and joined in the establishment of St. Asaph Station. He was one of those who met at Boonesboro' on May 23, 1775, "under the great elm tree near the fort," to establish the proprietary government of the so-called colony of Transylvania, comprising more than half of the present State of Kentucky; and

was a leading member of its assembly, the first legislative body organized west of the Alleghanies. He established himself at Todd's Station, near Lexington, Kentucky, in 1776, and in December of that year, with nine others, went through the wilderness to bring the powder which Virginia had granted for the defence of the frontier, from Limestone Creek to the Kentucky forts. His party was defeated on Christmas day by the Indians at the Blue Licks, and he narrowly escaped death near the very place at which he was destined to fall a few years later.

In the spring of 1777, he and Richard Calloway were chosen the first burgesses from Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, and made the perilous journey to Williamsburg to perform their public duties. He rendered efficient aid in bringing about the expedition of George Rogers Clark to the Illinois, in 1778, and was with that famous soldier at the capture of Kaskaskia and of Vincennes. This has been doubted, but the fact is established by family papers that Todd accompanied Clark in this campaign, and there is a tradition that he was the first man to enter the fort at Kaskaskia when it was taken from the British.

In October, 1778, the general assembly of Virginia passed "an act for establishing the County of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defence thereof." It provides that all the citizens of Virginia settled on the western side of the Ohio shall be included in a distinct county, to be called Illinois County. This practically included the whole region afterward known as the Northwest Territory. Of this county, the governor of the State was authorized to appoint a county-lieutenant or commandant, who could appoint and commission deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissaries, and pardon all offences except murder and treason.

On December 12, 1778, Patrick Henry, as governor of

Virginia, by virtue of the aforesaid act, appointed John Todd county-lieutenant or commandant of the County of Illinois. He repaired to his new post in the following spring, arriving at Kaskaskia in May, 1779. He was exceedingly busy with the duties of his government during the greater part of that year, and evidently found his position distasteful, for in a letter to the governor of Virginia, dated Kaskaskias, August 18, 1779, he asked permission to attend the session of the legislature in the following spring, and "get a discharge from an office which an unwholesome air, a distance from my connexions, a language not familiar to me, and an impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of life suitable, all tend to render uncomfortable."

Col. Todd, however, does not appear to have been granted this permission, or to have availed himself of it, and during the few remaining years of his short life, although he seems not to have been in Illinois after 1779, his correspondence shows that he was earnestly attentive to its interests. In 1780, he was elected a delegate from the County of Kentucky to the legislature of Virginia, and was married while attending its session of that year, to Miss Jane Hawkins. In the summer of 1781, Gov. Thomas Jefferson appointed Todd colonel of Fayette County, Kentucky; and in May, 1782, he was made one of the trustees of Lexington, in that State, by act of Virginia. In the summer of that year, as senior colonel, he commanded the little force of one hundred and eighty men who went in pursuit of the Indians retreating from Simon Girty's famous raid on the settlements south of the Ohio, and on August 19, 1782, he died heroically at the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. His only child, Mary Owen Todd, was married first to a Mr. Russell, and afterward became the second wife of Robert Wickliffe of Lexington, Kentucky, and died childless.

The original record-book kept by Col. Todd during his residence in the County of Illinois has been preserved to our time by the merest chance. In November, 1879, a visitor at Kaskaskia learned that the old documents formerly kept there had been removed to the neighboring town of Chester, when it became the county-seat of Randolph County, Illinois. Upon inquiry at the latter place, he was informed that several chests of these papers had stood for years in the hall of the court-house, until the greater part of their contents had been lost or destroyed. A small box had been filled with those that remained a few years before, and placed in one of the rooms of the building. These also had disappeared, and it was finally ascertained that they had been distributed among the different offices to be used as kindling, and all had been burned except one old book, which was found in a receptacle for fuel in the county-clerk's apartment. And this upon examination proved to be Col. John Todd's Record-Book, which subsequently, by vote of the commissioners of Randolph County, was deposited with the Chicago Historical Society for safe-keeping. Its contents are of sufficient interest and value, in connection with the early history of Illinois, to justify its publication in full in this volume. And in connection with it, such letters of Col. John Todd and those associated with him as could be found in the Canadian and Virginian archives are also published herein.* E. G. M.

* Authorities:—Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," second edition; John Mason Brown's "Address at the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of the Blue Licks"; and letters from John Mason Brown and William Wirt Henry.

JOHN TODD'S RECORD-BOOK.*

[Written on the inside of the front cover of the book:]

Kaskaskias in the Ilinois 29th april 1782. Eighty and touce. This day 10 oClock A:M Je vas Taken out of my house by Isreal Dodge on an order Given by Jno. Dodge in despite of the Civil authoroty Disregardled the Laws and on ther Malitious acusation of Jas. Williams and nicheul pevante as may appear by their deposition Je vas Confined By Tyranick military force without making any Legal aplication to the Civil Magistrates 30th the attorney for the State La Buiniere presented a petition to the Court against Richard Winston State prisonner in their Custody the Contents of which he (the attorney for the State) ought to heave Communicated to me or my attorney if any J had.†

[Gov. PATRICK HENRY TO JOHN TODD, pages 1–6:]

WMBURG, Dec'r 12th, 1778.

To JOHN TODD, Esq[r]

By virtue of the act of Gen[l] Assembly which estab-

* This book contains thirty-nine pages of 10 x 15, laid, ledger-ruled paper, with water-marked "crown", enclosed in paste-board covers.

† This memorandum has no connection with the other contents of the Record-Book, and was apparently inscribed by accident on its cover. Richard Winston, by whom it was written, was living in the Illinois Country as early as July, 1773. He was appointed by John Todd captain and commandant at Kaskaskia, May 14, 1779; was also sheriff-in-chief of that district, elected by the people, and was left in command at Kaskaskia by Todd, during his absence in June, 1779. In January, 1781, Winston was still commandant at Kaskaskia. This memorandum contains the only information we have concerning the revolution in his affairs which made him a State prisoner in 1782.—E. G. M.

lishes the County of Ilinoies, you are appointed County Liut. or Commandt there, and for the genrall tennour of your Conduct I refur you to the law.

The Grand Objects which are disclosed to the View of your countrymen will prove Benificial or otherwise according to the Vallue and Abilities of those who are called to Direct the affairs of that remote Country. The present crisis rendered so favourable by the Good Disposition of the French and Indians may be Improv'd to Great purposes, but if unhapily it Should be lost, a returne of the Same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that earley Prejudices are so hard to weare Out, you will Take Care to Cultivate and concilate the affections of the French and Indians.

Altho Great reliance is placed on your prudence in managing the people you are to reside amoung, yet consider'g you as unacquainted in some Degree with their Genius, usages, and maners, as well as the Geography of the Cuntry, I recommend it to you to consult and advise with the most inteligable and upright persons who may fall in your way.

You are to give perticklar Attention to Colo Clark and his Corps, to whome the State has Great Obligations. You are to cooperate with him on any military undertaking when necessary, and to Give the military every Aid which the circumstance of the people will admit of. the Inhabitints of the Ilinoiss must not expect setled peace and safety while theire and Our enimyes have footing at Detroit and can Intercept or Stop the Trade of the Mississippi. If the English have not the Strength or or Courage to come to warr against us Themselves, there practice has been and Will be to hire the savages to commit murders and depredations. Ilinoiss must expect to pay in these a large price for her freedom unless the English can be Expelled from Detroit. the means of

Effecting this will not perhaps be found in your or Colo Clark's power, but the French inhabiting the neighbourhood of that place, it is prosumed, may be brought to see it Done with indiferrence or perhaps Joyne in the Enterprize with pleasure. this is but conjecture. when you are on the Spot you and Colo Clark may Discover its fallacey or reallity if the former appeares. defence only is to be the Object. if the latter or a good prospect of it, I hope the Frenchmen & Indians at your Disposial will shew a Zeal for the affaire eaquel to the Benefits to be Derived from Establishing Liberty and permanent peace.

One Great Good expected from Holding the Ilinoiss is to overaw the Indians from warring on our Settlers on this side the Ohio. a close attention to the Disposition, carector, and movments of the Hostile Tribes is therefore nessary for you the forces and militia at Ilinoiss by being placed on the back of them may inflict timly Chasetizement on these enemies, whose Towns are an easy prey in absince of their Warriors.

You perceive by these hints that something in the military line may be Expected from you so farr as the Occasion calls for the assistance of the people composing the militia it will be necessory to cooperate with the Troops sent from here. and I know of no better Genl Direction to Give than this. that you Consider yourself at the head of the Civill department. and as Such having the Commd of the militia. who are not to be under the Commd of the military untill ordred out by the Civil Authority, and to Act in conjunction with them.

You are on all Accatons to inculcate on the people the Value of liberty and the Differrence between the State of free Citizens of this Comonwelth and that Slavery to which the Ilinoiss was Destined. A free & equal representation may be Expected by them in a little Time, to-

gether with all the improvm^{ts} in Jurisprudence and police which the Other parts of the State enjoy.

It is necessary for the Hapiness, increase, and prosperity of that Cuntrey that the Greaveances that obstruct these blessings be known in order to their removall, let it therefore be your Care to obtain information on that subject, that proper plans may be formed for the Generall Utillity. Let it be your Constant Attention to see that the inhabitints have Justice administred to them for any Injury rec^{d} from the Troops, the omission of this may be fatall. Col^{o} Clark has Instructions on this Head, and will, I Doubt not, exert himself to curb all licentious practises of the Soldiery, which if unrestrained would produce the most banefull effects.

You will also Discountinence & punish every attempt to Violate the property of the Indians, perticularly in their lands. Our enemys have alarmed them much on that score, but I hope from your prudence and Justice that no grounds of Compl^{t} will be administred on this Subject.

You will embrace every opertunity to manifest the high reguard and frendly sentiments of this Commonwelth towards all the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty, for whose safity, prosperity, and advantage you will give every possible advantage. You will make a Tender of the Frendship and Services of y^{r} people to the Spanish Commandant neare Kaskaskia, and Cultivate the Strictest Connection with him and his people. I deliver you you a letter which you will hand to him in person.*

The Ditaile of your Duty in the civil Department I need not give you, its best Direction will be found in

* At this time the whole region west of the Mississippi was under the dominion of Spain, and "the Spanish commandant neare Kaskaskia" was stationed at Ste. Genevieve, in what is now Missouri, a few miles southwest of Kaskaskia, and on the other side of the Mississippi River. The position at this date was occupied by Monsieur Cartabonne.—E. G. M.

y^r^ innate love of Justice and Zeal, to be intencively usefull to your fellow-men. A general Direction to act according to the best of y^r^ Judgment in cases where these Instructions are Silent and the laws have not Otherwise Directed is given to you from the necessity of the Case, for y^r^ Great Distance from Goverm^t^ will not permit you to wait for Orders in many Cases of Great Importance.

in your negociations with the Indians confine the stipula^n^ as much as possible to the single object of obtaining peace from them. Touch not the subject of land or bounderies till pertick^r^ Orders are rec^d^; where necessity requ^rs^ it, presents may be made, but be as frugall in that matter as possible and let them know that Goods at present is Scarce with us, but we expect soon to Trade freely with all the world, and they shall not want when we can get them.

The matters given you in Charge are Singular in their Nature and Weighty in their Consequences to the people imediately concerned and to the whole State, they require the fullest exertion of y^r^ Abillitys & Unwearied Diligence.

from matters of Genrall Consearn you must Turn Occasionally to Others of less Consequence. Mr. Roseblave's* wife and Family must not Suffer for want of that property of which they were bereft by Our Troops; it is to be Restored to them if possible, if this cannot be Done the Publick must Support them.

I think it proper for you to send me an Express once in three months with a Gen^l^ Acco^t^ of affaires with you & any perticklars you wish to communicate.

It is in contemplation to appoint an agent to mannage

* Rocheblave, the last British commandant at Kaskaskia, who surrendered the post to George Rogers Clark and was sent a prisoner to Virginia. His wife and family remained at Kaskaskia.—E. G. M.

Trade on Publick Accounts to Supply Ilinoiss and the Indians with Goods; if such an appointment takes place, you will give it every posible aid. The people with you should not intermit their endeavours to procure Supplys on the expectation of this, and you may act accordingly.

P. HENRY.*

[LIST OF COMMISSIONS, MILITARY AND CIVIL, pp. 6–10:]

Made out the Military Commissions for the District of Kaskaskia, dated May 14th, 1779.

Richd Winston	Commandant, as Capt.	
Nicholas Janis	first Co. Capt.	—
Baptiste Charlevill	1 Leut.	+
Charles Charleville	2 Lieut.	
Michael Godin	Ensign.	×
Joseph Duplassy	2nd Capt.	×
Nicholas le Chance	1 Leut.	
Charles Danee	2 Leut.	
Batiste Janis	Ensign.	×

17th May sent a Com. of Commandt of Prairie du Rocher & Capt. of the Militia in the District of Kaskaskia to J. B. Barbeau.

The District of Kohokia.

Francois Trotter	Commt.	Comns Dated 14th May, 1779; 3rd year of the Comnwth.
Tourangeau	Capt. 1.	
Beaulieu	Capt. 2.	
Gerradin	Lieut.	
P. Marthen	Leutt.	
Sansfacon	Ensign.	
	Ensign.	

* This is believed to be the genuine signature of Patrick Henry, it being apparently identical with other autographs known to be his.—E. G. M.

List of the Court of Kaskaskia as Elected by the People:

1 Gabriel Cerre
2 Joseph Duplasy
3 Jaques Lesource
4 Nicholas Janis
5 J. B. Barbeau 6 Nicholas Le Chance
7 Charles Charleville
8 Antoine Duchasfourt de Louvieres
9 Girradot

Carboneau Clerk. Richd Winston Sheriff.

Court of Kohokias:

1 ——— Touranjeau (Godin)
2 Francois Trottier
3 Chas. Gratiot
4 ——— Girradin
5 —— B. Saucier
6 Mr. Beaulieu
7 P. Marthin

Francois Saucier Clerk. J. B. Le Croix Sheriff.

The Court of St. Vincennes:

1 P. Legras
2 Francois Bosseron
3 Perrot
4 Cardinal (refused to serve)
5 Guery La Tulippe
6 P. Gamelin
7 Edeline
8 Degenest } Legrand Clerk.
9 Barron } Sheriff.

Militia Officers of St. Vincennes:

P. Legras L. Col.
F. Bosseron Major.

	Latulippe	1 Capt.	Capt.
	Edeline	2	
M.	Brouilet	3 rank not	
P.	Gamelin	4 settled	
1			
2	Goden		Lieut.
3	Godin		
4.			
1			
2	Joseph Rougas		
3	Richerville (erased)		
4	Richerville		

Liste de La Cour des Kaskaskias En 1787, Le 25 Juiliet, savoir:

1 Antoine Beauvais
2 Corsette "
3 St. Geme "
4 Lachance "
5 Vital Bauvais
6 Louis Brazeau

LICENSE FOR TRADE: [page 11]

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye, that whereas Rich[d] McCarty, Gentleman, hath produced a Recommendation from the Court of District of Kohokia certifying his patriotism, Integrity, & Knowledge in Trade & Merchandizing,

These are therefore to license & permit the said R. Mc. to traffick & Merchandize with all the liege Subjects & Friends of the United States of America of what Nation soever they be, & to erect Factories & Stores at any convenient place or places he shall think proper within the Commonwealth aforesaid. Provided that by virtue

hereof no pretence shall be made to trespass upon the Effects or property of Individuals. Given under my hand & seal at Kaskaskia, the 5th June, 1779, in the 3rd year of the Commonwealth.*

LETTER TO THE COURT OF KASKASKIA: [page 12]

11th June, 1779.

Gentlemen:—The only method America has to support the present just War is by her Credit. That Credit at present is her Bills emitted from the different Treasuries by which she engages to pay the Bearer at a certain time Gold & Silver in Exchange. There is no friend to American Independance who has any Judgment but soon expects to see it equal to Gold & Silver. Some disaffected persons & designing Speculators discredit it through Enemity or Interest; the ignorant multitude have not Sagacity enough to examine into this matter, & merely from its uncommon Quantity & in proportion to it arises the Complaint of its want of Credit.

This has for some years been the Case near the Seat of War; the disorder has spread at last as far as the Ilinois & calls loudly for a Remedy. In the interior

* Richard McCarty was a resident of Cahokia while it was under British control, and in February, 1777, wrote an humble letter to the commandant, Rocheblave, apparently to defend himself against even the suspicion of disloyalty. But when Clark levied the force to march from Kaskaskia against the British post at Vincennes, McCarty led a company of volunteers, who were nearly all of French descent, from Cahokia to join that expedition, and rendered good service. In August, 1779, he was appointed commandant at Cahokia under the authority of Virginia, and in November, 1780, Todd, writing to Gov. Jefferson, says: "McCarty, a captain in the Illinois Regiment who has long since rendered himself disagreeable by endeavoring to enforce Military law upon the Civil Department at Kohos." He appears to have had a tract of land at Cahokia, and is one of those named in the report made in 1809, by the commissioners appointed by congress, as a claimant under "Ancient Grants" in the district of Kaskaskia.—E. G. M.

Counties this Remedy is a heavy Tax, now operating from which an indulgent government has exempted us one only remedy remains which is lodged within my power that is by recieving on behalf of Government such sums as the people shall be induced to lend upon a sure fund & thereby decreasing the Quantity the mode of doing this is already planned & shall be always open to your Inspection & Examination with the proceedings, & I must request your Concurrence & Assistance. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant, &c.

PLAN FOR BORROWING 33,333⅓ DOLLARS OF TREASURY NOTES, BOTH BELONGING TO THIS STATE & THE UNITED STATES: [pages 14–5]

Whereas, owing to no other reason than the prodigious quantity of Treasury notes now in Circulation, the vallue of almost every Comody has risen to most enormeous Prices, the Preserving the Credit of the Said bills by Reduceing the Quantity requires Some immediate remedy, it is therefore Declaried:

1 That 21,000 acres of Land belonging to This Commonwelth shall be laid of as Soon as may be. Bounded thus: Beginning on the bank of the Missisippe, In the District of Kohokia, at Rich[d] McCartey's Cornor, thence runing up the said river 3500 poles, when reduced to a Straight line, from the Extremities of which at right Angles with the former on the Virginia side 2 lines of equal Length shall run so far, that with another line paralel with the Course of the River, the Plat Shall containe the Quantity afouresaid.

2 That the said 21,000 (except one thousand to be Hereafter laid off by Government for a Town in the most Convenient part Thereof with In and Out Lotts) shall be a fund for the purpose afoursaid.

Provided that every adventurer be Subject to all Laws & regulations in Cultivating & Setling to which Settlers in the County of Ilinoiss shall hereafter be Subjected.

3rd That the lender of money take a certificate from the Comissioners, for that Purpose appointed, for the sum but not being less than 100 Dollars, for which he, his heirs, Exer, Admr, or assigns Shall be entitled to Demand within 2 years a Title to his propotion of the land in the Said Fund or the Sum originally advanced, in Gold or Silver with 5 p ct. Interest p anum at the Option of the State.

Provied first that no assignment of such certifycate shall be made or Conveyance but in open Court by Deed to be recorded.

(2) That a Deduction shall be made for all money hereafter discovered to be Counterfeited.

4 That all persons may have reasonable Inducements to lend, the lender shall have assurance that no greater Sum shall be received than 33,333⅓ Dollars on said Fund, That Government shall Comply with the above Engagements, & this Plan be Recorded in the Recorder's Office of Kaskaskie.

JOHN TODD.

French Translation: [The three following lines are erased.]

Plan Pour Emprunter la somme de trente trois mil trois cent trente trois & un tiere piastres monoiss du tresoier de cet Etat ainsi que des Etats unies.

COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS, &C., ON THE BORROWING FUND: [page 15]

Sir:—You are hereby appointed a Commissionor for Borrowing money upon the Kohoskia Fund. Inclosed is a Coppy of the Plan, the Design you'll Observe is to abridge the Quantity in Circulation—the money paid in

you will preserve untill you Shall be Caled upon for it. Let every man's Money be kept apart with his nam and Quantity Indorsid thereon, keep a book to Register the No., the Person's names, the Quantity of Money, the date your Receipt, thus:

Kohoskia Fund (No. 1).

I do certify that I have received of the Sum of Dollars, which intiles the said to a propotionable quantity of land in the Kohoskia Fund or Gold & Silver, according to the Plan Recordid in the Recorder's Office of Kaskaskia. Witness my Hand this Day of 1779. HY CRUTCHER, Comr.

[BOND OF COMMISSIONER, page 16:]

Know all men by these presence that we, Henry Crutcher, George Slaughter & John Roberts, are held and firmly bound Unto Jno Todd, Esqr, Commander in Chief of the County of Ilinois, in the Sum of Thirty three Thousand three hundred & thirty three Dollars & one third to be paid to the said John Todd or his successors, to which payment, will & truly to be maid, we do bind Ourselves & each of each of Our heirs, executors, firmly by These Presence. Sealed & Datid this 14th Day of June, in the year 1779.

The Condition of the above Obligation is such if the above named Henry Crutcher, Commissioner for the Fund for borrowing certaine Sums of Continentall & State Currency, shall at all Times when Required pay and Account for all Sums so received, and in all things Comport himself agreable to Such Rules and Regulations as Shall be Adopted for prosecuting the same, then the Above Obligation to be Void, Otherwise In full force.

Test:	HY CRUTCHER.	(Seal)
RICHD HARRISON.	GEO. SLAUGHTER.	(Seal)
RICHD WINSTON.	JOHN ROBERTS.	(Seal)

PROCLAMATION: [page 17]

Ilinois, to wit: Whereas from the Furtilety & beautifull Situation of the Lands bordering upon the Missisippy, Ohio, Ilinois, & Wabash rivers, the Taking up the usual quantity heretofore allowed for a Setlement by the Governmnt of Virginia, would injure both the Strength & Commerce of this Country in Future,

I do therefore issue this Proclamation strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever from making any New Settlements upon the Flat lands of the said Rivers or within one league of said lands, unless In manor and form of Settlemt as heretofore made by the French Inhabitints untill Further Orders given hereon.

And in order that all the Claims to Lands within the Said Country may be fully known & some method provided for perpetuating by records the just Claimes, every Inhabitt is required, as soon as conveniently may be, to lay before the persons in each District appointed for that purpose a Memmedo of his or her Land, with Coppys of all theire Vouchers & where vouchers have never been given or are lost, such Depositions & Certifs as will best Tend to Support there Claims. Such memdo to mention the Quantity of land, to whome Origonally granted, or by whome Settled, and when; deducing the Title thro the Various Occupants to the Present possessor. The number of Adventurers who will Soon Over run This Country renders the above method necessesary, as well to Assertain the Vacant Land as to Guard against Trespasses, which will probably be Committed upon Land not of Record.

Given under my Hand & Seal at Kaskaskia, the 14th day of June, 1779.

JOHN TODD.

WARRANT FOR EXECUTION: [erased, page 18]

Ilinois, to wit: To Richard Winston, Esq., Sheriff in Chief of the District of Kaskaskia:

Negro Manuel, a Slave, in your Custody, is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable Fine at the Door of the Church, to be chained to a post at the water side & there to be burnt alive, & his ashes scattered, as appears to me by Record. This Sentence you are hereby required to put in Execution on tuesday next, at 9 o'Clock in the morning; and this shall be your Warrant. Given under my hand & seal at Kaskaskia, the 13th day of June, in the third year of the Commonwealth.

[JOHN TODD TO RICHARD WINSTON, page 18:]

Sir:—During my absence the Command will devolve upon you as Commander of Kaskaskia—if Col° Clark should want anything more for his Expodition, consult the members of the Court upon the best mode of proceeding, if the people will not Spare wilingly, if in there power, you must press it, valueing valluing the Property by Two men upon Oath—let the Millitary have no pretest for forcing property. When you Order it, & the people will not find it, then it will be Time for them to Interfere—by all means keep up a Good Understanding with Col° Clark and the Officers—if this is not the Case you will be Unhapy. I am, sir, y^r^ Hble Servt,

JOHN TODD,

To Rich^d^ Winston, Esq^r^. June 15, 1779.

[JOHN TODD TO NICHOLAS JANIS, page 19:]

To Capt. NICHOLAS JANIS:—You are hereby required

to call upon a partey of your Militia to guard Morace, a Slave condemed to execution, up to the Town of Kohos.

put them under an Officer they shall be intitled pay, Rashtions, & Refreshment dureing the Time they shall be upon Duty, to be certifyed hereafter by you.

I am, sir, your Hble Servant,

JNO TODD, 15th June, 1779.

I recommend 4 or 5 from your Compy & as many from Capt. Placey's, and consult Mr. Lacroix about the Time necessary. J. T.

[PROCLAMATION, pages 19, 20:]

Ilinoiss, to wit: Whereas the emissions of Continentall money Dated the 20th May, 1777, and Apl 11th, 1778, were required to be paid into some Continental Treasury by the first of June, which was a day imposible with the People of Ilinoiss,

I do therefore notifye all persons who have money of the said emissions, that unless they shall as soon as posible Comply with the said Resolution of Congress and Produce Vouchers of such there imposibility, the mony must Sink in there Hands; the Vouchers must be certifyed by myself or some Deputy Commandant of this County and have Reference to the Bundle of mony numbred and seald.

Signd by order of the Commandant in Chief, at Kaskaskia, July 27th, 1779. JOHN TODD.

Coppy, HY CRUTCHER, Secy.

D'autant que la Monnoye Ameriquaine en datte du 20 May, 1777, et celle du 11 Avril, 1778, ont ete requises pour être remises a Quelque tresorier du Continent au premier des Juin, dernier chose impossible pour les gens des Ilinois.

Le present est pour avertir toutes personnes qui ont des cartes des susdits quantiemes de se conformer au susditte Resolution du Congrés et produire des certificats de la ditte impossibilité, si non l'argent sera perdu pour eux. Les certificats serons signé de moy ou de quelque Deputé Commandant de cette Comteé ayant toujours recours aux liesses de Monnoye numeroteé et cachettée.

Signé par ordre du Commandant en chef, July 27, 1779.

[ORDER TO HOLD COURT, page 21:]

To GABRIEL CERRE, &c., Esq^rs, Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia:

You are Hereby Authorized & required to Hold and Constitute a Court on Satterday, the 21st of July, at the Usiall place of Holding Court, within y^r District, any adjournment to the Contrary notwithstanting.

Provided that no Suitor or partey be compeled to answare any prosess upon said Day unless properly sumoned by the Clark & Shirriff.

Given under my Hand & Seal at Kaskaskia, July 31st, 1779. JOHN TODD.

[LETTER TO SPANISH COMMANDANT AT STE. GENEVIEVE, page 21:]

AUX KASKASKAS, 9 d'Aout, 1779.

Monsieur CARTABONNE, Comd^t St. Genevieve:

Il sera a l'advantage de chaque Gouvernment que tout voitures en commerce partant des Illinois, seront obligé a livrer leur effets ou Carguaisons dans le Ports de Sa Majesté Catholique qui sont situé enbas de ce Poste, et qui les Proprictaires donne leurs obligations cautioné dans les Offices respectives, avant quils auront permission pour

leurs depart, l'advantage d'un tel arangement avec le Gourvernment Espagnole et trop clair pour en demander des explanations, en sort que tout commerce de notre Bord se jetterai parmis nos Amis. L'advantage a l'Etat de Virginie sera que nos Enmis de Natchez et Manchac seront deprivé de tout provisions decendons de notre Posts.

Je soit d'avoir votre reponse a cet convention par le Porteur si ca sera possible. Comme de quasi sert til que je contraindre nos Inhabitants, quand les Garrisons des Anglais peuve etre fournis dans leurs besoins par vos Sujets.

Jai aucune nouvelles a vous communiqué hors que le le Colonel Clark n'a pas encore parti du Post Vincennes.

Si en cas quelques Ennemis vous interrompe et que nos forces peuve vous rendu Service, Je suis ordonné depart du Gouverneur de la Virginie de vous envoyer des Secours.

Jai l'honneur d'etre tout parfait.

[PROCLAMATION, page 22:]

The Inhabitants of Kaskaskia are for the last time invited to contract with the persons appointed for provision, especially Flower, for the Troops who will shortly be here. I hope they'll use properly the Indulgeance of a mild Government. If I shall be obliged to give the military permission to press, it will be a disadvantage, and what ought more to influence Freemen it will be a dishonor to the people.

Published by order of the Comm^{dt} in chief at Kaskaskia, 11th Aug^{t}, 1779.

Sent to Mons^{r} Leyba a Letter to the Same Effect & rec^{d} an Answer.

[FORM OF DRAFT ON GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, p. 23:]

To his Excellency the Governor of Virginia:

Please to pay to C D or Order the sum of Dollars which is due to him from the State of Virginia for sundries furnished the Militia & Indians, as appears by Vouchers to me rendered.

Given under my hand at Kaskaskia, the 11th August, 1779.

Mr. J. B. Z. LaCroix, Dol. 78, Augt 11, 1779.

[PROCLAMATION, pages 23–4:]

Illinois, to wit: Whereas the Demands of the State require that a Stock of Provision be immediately laid for the use of the Troops of the Common-Wealth, and that an Embargo be laid upon such Provision for a limited time.

I do therefore issue this Proclamation stritely enjoining all Inhabitants and others in the County of Illinois from exporting either by Land or Water any Provisions whatsoever for the space of Sixty days, unless I shall have assurance before that time that a sufficient Stock is laid up for the Troops or sufficient Security is given to the Contractors for its delivery whenever required.

The Offender herein shall be subjected to Imprisonment for One Month and more over forfeit the value of such exported Provision.

Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskias, 22nd August, 1779.

Les Demandes de L'Etat requerant qu'une quantite de Provisions soyent immediatement serrée pour L'usage des des Troupes de la Republique, Et qu'un Embargo soit mis sur toutes Provisions pour un Tems limité.

En consequence de quay Je publie cette proclamation pour defendre strictement a tous les Habitants et autres dans les Compté des Illinois, d'Exporter par Terre ou par Eau, aucunne Espece de Provisions que ce Soit, a commencer immediatement et durer l'Espace de Soixante Jours, amoin qu'une quantité suffisant pour les Troupes ne soit remise, ou que Sureté soit donné aux Contracteurs pour la delivreé des dittes Provisions a leur demande.

Touttes Personnes qui Contreviendront a la presente Proclamation, seront Sujits a Un mois d'Emprisonment, et a la Confiscation des Provisions qu'ils auront exporté ou la Valeur.

Donné sous ma Main et Sceau aux Kaskaskias, le 22. d'Aout, 1779.

[NOTICE CONCERNING CALLED-IN CURRENCY, p. 24:]

Illinois, to wit:

The publick are notified that after tomorrow no more Certificates will be Granted at Kaskaskia to Persons producing the called in Emmissions.

Published by Order, Augt. 22nd, 1779.

Le public est Notifié qua'prés demain, il ne sera plus donné de Certificat aux Kaskaskia, aux Personnes qui produirent des Argents des dattes lappellér.

Publié par Ordre, Le 22 d'Aout, 1779.

[RECORD OF ORDER ON GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, p. 25:]

October 7th, 1779. Order given pat. Mc Crosky on the Govt. for 140 Dollars, dated at Kas[a] 7th Oct. 1779 (No. 2) (140), by certificate from Mr. Helm.

[CONDEMNATION PROCEEDING, pages 25, 26:]

Advertised by notifying at the Door of the Church of Kaskaskia the Half a lot above the Church, Joing Picard on the East & Langlois on the West, that unless some person should appear & support their Claim to the said Lot within three Days it should be condemned to the Use of the Commonwealth. Sd notification was dated 4th Oct., 1779.

Ilinois, to wit: Whereas after publickly calling upon any peron or persons to shew & make appear any Claim which they might have to a certain Lot of Land containing one half acre be the same more or less lying in the Town of Kaskaskia near the Church, adjoining Mons. Picard on the East & Mons. Langlois on the West, & after delaying & waiting the appointed time & no person yet appearing to claim the same against the Commonwealth of Virginia, I do declare & adjudge the said Lot to belong to the said commonwealth, & that all persons whatsoever be thenceforth debarred & precluded forever from any Claim thereto. Given under my Hand at Kaskaskia the 13th day of October in the fourth year of the Commonwealth, Annog Domani 1779. JNO. TODD, Jr.

Copy of a Grant to Col. Montgomery. [Page 26.]

[Remainder of the page containing the Grant torn out.]

[COURT RECORD, page 27:]

La Cour à eté ouverte le cinq juin Mil sept cent quatre-vingt sept. Et La renvoyé au cinq du mois juiliet prochain au Kaskaskias, le 5 juin, 1787.

HENRY SMITH.

[OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, page 28:]

I do swear on the Holy evangelists of almighty god that I Renounce all Fidelity to george the third, King of Great Brittan, his Heirs and Sucessors, and that I will bear true allegiance to the united States of America, as free and Independant, as declared by Congress, and that I will not do, nor cause to be done, any matter or thing that may be injurious or Prejudicial to the independ^ce^ of said states; and that I will make Known to some one Justice of the Peace for the united States all Treasonous, all Treatorous, conspiracies, which may come to my Knowledge to be formed against said united States or any one of them. So help me God.

Sworn at Kaskaskias, 10 July, 1782. JAMES MOORE.

[COURT RECORD, pages 29–36:]

La cour ce tien le 25 e juiliet, 1787, a neuf heure Du matin.

La cour est envoye au ventdeux du mois d'aous au Kaskaskias, le 25 e juiliet, 1787.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.
VITALE BAUVAIS. LA CHANSE. L. BRAZAUX.

1787.

La cour est ouverte ajourdhui vingt sept de Septembre mil sept cent quatre vingt et sept.

Present, M^r.^ Antoine Beauvais, president et St. geme Beauvais, et Vital Beauvais et françois Corset et Louis Brazeau.

J. S. G. BAUVAIS. VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET.

La cour est renvoyé au quinze du mois Octobre au Kas., le 27 7bre, 1787.

VITALE BAUVAIS. ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET.
J. S. G. BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.

Aujourd'hui quinzieme jour du mois octobre mil sept cent quatre vingt sept. La cour tenant a neuf heurs dumatin. La cour est renvoyé a deux heurs apre midi ajourd hui. LA CHANSE. VITALE BAUVAIS.
FR. CORSET. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.

La cour est ouvert à l heur dits deux heures apremidi. La cour est renvoyé le quinze dumois Novembre, prochain au Kaskaskias, le quinzieme Octobre Mil sept cent quatre vingt sept (la cour tenante).
LA CHANSE. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.
FR. CORSET. VITALE BAUVAIS.

Aujourd'hui vingt cinquieme Octobre mil sept cent quatre vingt sept. La cour par extra hordinaire à la demande, de Mr. demunbrunt, et françois Carbonaux, defendeur. ANTOINE BAUVAIS, prézidan.
VITALE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET. L. BRAZAUX.
J. S. G. BAUVAIS. LA CHANSE.

La cour est ouverte cejourd'hui quinzieme jour dumois Novembre Mil sept cent quatrevingt sept. La cour est renvoyé a un heure apremidi. 15 9bre.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET. LA CHANSE.
VITALE BAUVAIS. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.

La cour est ouverte a un heure apremidi ajourdui. La cour est renvoyé demain pour un affaires le 16e 9bre 1787.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET. VITALE BAUVAIS.
J. S. G. BAUVAIS. LA CHANSE.

La cour est ouverte à neuf heure dumatin le seize Novembre Mil sept cent quatrevingt sept. Et renvoyé à mercredi le 21e 9bre 1787. ANTOINE BAUVAIS, prezidan.
VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.

La cour ajumeé jus qua Samedi le vingt quatrieme jour

du moi Novemble, Mil sept cent quatre vingt et sept. Est ouverte adeux heurs apremidi le jour et ans susdit.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, prezidan.

JSGB VITALE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET. L. BRAZAUX.

La cour est renvoyé au vingt Decembre prochain au Kaskaskias le 24e 9bre 1787.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, p:z. J. S. G. BAUVAIS.
L. BRAZAUX. FR. CORSET. VITALE BAUVAIS.

La cour est ouverte par Extrat ordinere àla demande de Mr. hugt hunard, le 26e 9bre, L'an 1787.

L. BRAZAUX. FR. CORSET.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. VITALE BAUVAIS.

N. 7, apartenant à M. hugt hunard.
N. 4, apartenant à La Cour.

La cour est ouverte par extra ordinaire le onzieme Decembre pour repandre àla presentation De M. hugt hunard. L'an 1787. ANTOINE BAUVAIS, p z
VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX. FR. CORSET.

La cour est ouvert ajourdhui vingt Decembre l'an mil sept cent quatrevingt sept, aneuf heurs dumatin.

VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET.

La cour est renvoyé au vint huit de mois. La cour tenant ajourd'hui 20 xbre 1787. ANTOINE BAUVAIS.
VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX. FR. CORSET.

La cour en renvoyé au cinq de janvier prochain au 15 janvier prochain au Kas le 28 xbre 1787, par le president.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, prezidan.

1788.

L'an mil sept cent quatrevingt et huit, le quinzieme jour

dumois de janvier, à neuf heurs Dumatin, La Cour est ouverte; La Cour à terminé que chacque juré qui viendrai de la prairi du roché auront chacquun vingt cinq livre; avons renvoyé la cour adeux heur apremidi, ajour dhui et pour cause dans le village dix livre.

VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.
ANTOINE BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET.

La cour est ouverte adeux heur a pres midi au Kas. ce 15 janvier, 1788.

1 M. George Atchison, Foreman
2 — James Lomon
3 — George Bigges
4 — Thomas Bigges
5 — Michael Huff
6 — Francis Clerk
7 — Wm. Bayly
8 — Joseph Worley
9 — Joseph Ogle
10 — Samuel Stevenson
11 — John Clark
12 — James Orr

} John Edgar & Taitt Plt, agt Thomas Green, Deft
De faux de Comparection.
Also a Jury wherein Daniel McEl Duff, Plt and Thomas Green, Deft

La cour a terminé qui chacque juré qui viendront de Labelle fontaine, en cette qualité qui l'auront chacun La somme de quarante cinq livre chacun, au Kas le 15 janvier, 1788. La somme a chacque juré de quarant cinq-livre au Kas lejours et ans, aprouve si moi jur charge de quarante cinqlivre. ANTOINE BAUVAIS, p nt

Est comparu par nos ordres Monsieur Jean Edgar, àla requition de M. jean Duff, pour declarer cequil a'tendu dire par M. jean Dodge. a dit amondet lui, Edgar a meparlent amoi meme. Cinq jours apres mon arive, en cette ville des Cas.

Je suis capable de vous instruit des carater des gens de

ce peyées. Monsieur Enri Smith il à la une bonne habitation, M. Smits, est un grand villin coquin, M. Dodge ma dit quil eté capable de le faire venire sure un peau d'an pour le faire fouette. Consernant des Marchandisse roti au fort gefersonne;* M. Dodge lui a dit que M. Smith soutenoit ce le contraire jusqua ceque M. Dodge, lui à fait voir. Ces fautes àlors M. Dodge laquitté. M. Dodge, a dit bon pour rester amis avec les gens là, par ceque Leurs argent est aussi bonne Comme celle d'un autres Et le dit juré a persité a sa declaration que c'était la verité à la cour tenant ce 25 juiliet, 1787, et assigné, JNO. EDGAR,

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, Magistra.

Vû Les deposition des opinions de jurés qui ont terminé L'affaire entre M. Tomas Green défendeur et Daniel Duff plentif. Lesquelle sont reconnu que M. green et Comptable, pour les dommages de M. Daniel Miche Duff la somme de vingt piastre, avec les frais qui enver resulte de la dite affaire au Kaskaskias, le quinze janvier, mil sept cent quatre-vingt huit, et suivant L'ordonnance.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, p. nt.

La Cour est renvoyé au quinz de fevrie mil sept cent quatre-vingt huit. FR. CORSET,

VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.

ANTOINE BAUVAIS.

La Cour est ouverte le quinzieme fevrié 1788. A neuf heure Du matin, Messire antoine Beauvais president, et St. gene Bauvais et Vital Beauvais, Louis Brazaux, et françois Corsette, tous magistrat, ANTOINE BAUVAIS.

VITALE BAUVAIS. L. BRAZAUX.

ST. G. BAUVAIS. FR. CORSET.

* Fort Jefferson was established in 1780 by Virginia, upon the recommendation of Clark and Todd, at the Iron Banks on the east bank of the Mississippi, just below the junction of the Ohio. It was evacuated June 8, 1781. —E. G. M.

La Cour est renvoyé jusqu'a qu'il soite fait une assembleée par Le public; Au Kaskias, le 15[e] fevrie et que La Cour soit Complette de son magistrat, et qu'il soit convoqué par M. Barbau, Lt. de Courté, de jour et ans,

ANTOINE BAUVAIS, m. L. BRAZAUX. FR. CORSET.
VITALE BEAUVAIS.

Dr. PELTRY ACCOUNT. [pages 37, 38.]

To Government for my Drafts in favor of Monsieur Beaurgarde for 30000 Dollars value thereof received as pr his Acct. dated St. Louis, 14th Sept. 1779, Vizt:

Peltrys gr. to the amount of	£21000	
Paper Currency Dlls. 10000		

Per CONTRA. Cr.

By m/a for Sundries 4 charges			£349 10	—
By Colo. John Montgomery paid as p his order			297 10	—
By the Garrison at Kaskaskias furnished for them p Order Colonel Montgomery, Vizt:				
2 Hhds Taffia	@ 340£	£680		
150 lb Sugar	@ 35s	262 10		
75 lb Coffee	35s	131 5		
7 Bear Skins	3£	18		
Charges Vizt:				
2 Bags	£7			
Cart hire	2			
Taffia & Bread to the Soldiers	6	15	1106 15	—

By the Garrison at Cahokias purchased for and delivered Capt. McCarty as receipt, Vizt:

1 Hhd Taffia		£340		
100 lb Gunpowder	@ 6£	600		
300 lb Lead	@ 10s	154		
75 lb Sugar		35	131	5
30 lb Coffee		35	52	10
Charges Vizt:				
2 Bags	£7			
Cart hire	2	9		1286 15 —

By assum[d] to Capt. Janis 200 lb for Moses Henry.
Oct. 24th By Francois Charleville 400 lb P[r] Col. Montg. Ord
— 25 By Baptiste Charleville 150 P[r] Col. Montg.
Charles Charleville 1290 P[r] Col. Montg. a/c

3040 10 —

[ENTRIES BY COL. TODD'S SUCCESSOR, page 39:]

February 1782.

Arrived a Small Tribe of the Wabash Indians Imploring the paternal Succour of their Father the Bostonians heaving their Patent from Major Linctot, in Consequence I did on Behalf of the Commonwealth give them Six Bushells Indian Corn, Fifty pounds of Bread, four Pounds of Gun Powder, Ten Pounds of Ball, and One Gallon of Taffia from Carbonneaux.

March 22d. Came here Deputy's from the Delawares, Shawanoe, and Cherokee nations of Indians, Begging that the americans wold Grant them Pease as likewise the French and Spanish and after hearing their Talk, Smoaking the pipe of peace and friendship with them, and from their Conduct while here as well as many marks they gave us of their Sincerety I could not avoid Giving them On Behalf of the Americans the Following articles, Viz,,

10 Bushells Indian Corn,

100 lb. Flour, and 100 lb. Bisquit,
6 lb. Tobaco, one Gallon Tafia,
5 lb. wampam and canoe—which cost me 20 Dollars.

[In pencil.] "The above [was written] by Thimothe Demunbrunt Lt. Comd. par interim, &c."

[Written on the inside of back cover of book:]

Memo. 1779.

14 June, M. Kemp, D. to 1½ yds. Blue Cloth for a Cape for Isaac.

Mrs. to 2 lbs. Cotton from Mad. Bentley's Store, 14th June.

M. Smith, Hugh, To a Bill for 12 Dollars in peltry, drawn upon Mr. Gratiot.

Nota bené. { Nous, THIMOTHÉ DEMUNBRUNT, Lt. Comd't. Par interim, &c., &c., &c.

JOHN-TODD PAPERS.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.*

From "Canadian Archives"—"Haldimand Papers"—Series B, Vol. 184-1, page 124.

KASKASKIAS, 18th Augt., 1779.

May it please your Excellency:—By Letters which I had the honour of writing to you by Col. Slaughter, dated early in July, I gave your Excellency a full account of the situations of this country, since which nothing important has happened here. Col. Clark, I suppose, is by this time at the Falls of Ohio, and as the Expedition aginst Detroit is declined he will probably wait upon you in person. Col. Rogers has arrived from Orleans & will be the Bearer hereof or send it by the earliest opportunity: I am uneasy in knowing that the accounts he will render concerning the quantity as well as the bad condition of the goods cannot be satisfactory. Who is to blame in it? The Batteau Masters who brought it up? The person in whose care it was left at St. Louis or the conductor of our stores or all of them, I cannot determine. The taking & disposing of them was (perhaps necessarily) planned, & in part executed, before my arrival. The conductor's powers & instructions were in no part derived from me, nor was he answerable to me for any malfeasance in office. Col. Clark will, I doubt not, satisfy you in this matter.

I wish the opprotunity by Col. Rogers were safer: I

* The original of this letter is among the "Haldimand Papers," and was intercepted on its way from Kaskaskia to Williamsburg by some one in the service of Great Britain, and carried to Canada.—E. G. M.

have 15 or 20 thousand dollars to send down on public account. .I have required that all the money of the called in emissions be sealed up, & stopped from circulating, of which I expect we have in the Country 20 or 30 thousand dollars more. I have recommended that the People wait some future opportunity more safe for sending it down. The Resolve of Congress bears hard upon Illinois, where the risque is so great. If Congress have not yet made provision for the reception of the Money, I hope your Excellency will apply to Congress. I shall be cautious that none of the called-in Emissions be brought into this Country or certified which may come from any part of the States where the owners had an opportunity of exchanging it.

The visiting the different Districts of my charge has so engaged me that I have not had time to prepare answers to the Queries delivered me by some Gentlen. of your Honble. Board. As to Indian Grants it may be necessary immediately to inform you, that they are almost numberless, only four of them are very considerable, the smallest of which will be near a 1,000,000 acres, and the whole between 7 & 8 millions of acres. The grantees all reside in Philadelphia, London, Pennsylvania, & Virginia, & are between 40 & 50, merchants chiefly. How far it may be proper to make such contracts binding upon the Indians, I cannot say. I submit it to your Excellency whether it is not necessary to prevent Indian Grants by other methods than making void the purchase. I mean by fines, and at the same time to prevent under-fines, &c. the making any settlements within the charter Bounds of this State, except under certain Permissions & Regulations: This I apprehend to be necessary immediately, as some Land jobbers from the South side of Ohio have been making improvements (as they call them) upon the purchas'd Lands on this side the River, and are beyond the reach of punish-

ment from me—with the arrival of New adventurers this summer, the same spirit of Land jobbing begins to breathe here.

I expected to have been prepared to present to your Excellency some amendments upon the form of Government for Illinois, but the present will be attended with no great inconveniences till the Spring Session, when I beg your permission to attend and get a Discharge from an Office, which an unwholesome air, a distance from my connexions, a Language not familiar to me, and an impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of Life suitable; all tend to render uncomfortable.

As to military affairs, Col: Clark will offer your Excellency observations on that Head, which I wish to defer, being more his province.

Perhaps an additional Agent for supplying the Indians with goods may be necessary. Mr. Lindsay's Commission was for no more than 10,000 Dollars, which he will soon dispose of to the Indians & our soldiers, who, I suppose will expect their Clothing from him.

I have given a Letter of Recommendation as an Agent to a Gentleman lately from New Orleans, who set off with Col. Rogers, Mons. Perrault.

If an expedition should be ordered against the Natchez, there cannot be any great dependence placed on the Illinois furnishing more than 100,000 lbs. of Flour, and supporting the Troops now here, and scarcely any Beef.

I have not heard from Williamsburg since January.

I am, with greatest respect, &c.,

JOHN TODD, Jr.

His Excellency the Governor of Virginia.

[Endorsed:] Copy of a letter from Jno. Todd, Jr., to the Governor of Virginia, dated Kaskaskias, 18th Augt., 1779.

JOHN PAGE LIEUT: GOVR, TO JOHN TODD, CO LIEUT: &C ILLINOIS CO.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, 326.

WILLIAMSBURG, August 16, 1779.

Sir:—Your several Letters of the 1st & 2nd ultimo, by Col: Slaughter, this day were handed to me in the Governors absence—I laid them before the Board, who were pleased with their contents & expreſsed their approbation of your Conduct & of your plan for supporting the Credit of the paper money, but this must be submitted to the consideration of the Aſsembly, who alone can determine on, or give Efficacy to that measure. * * *

It is to be wished that more Troops had been sent into the Illinois at first, however so much has been done by the few there, as to redound greatly to their Credit & that of their gallant Commander—We hope that the favourable Disposition of the Canadians, & our late succeſses to the Northward & Southward will pave the way for Colo. Clarke to Detroit & make the acquisition of it easy—and that the Battalion which we are now raising to be marched into your Country will enable him to surmount any obstacle which way be thrown into his way.

The Board approve of your erecting the small Fort you propose & giving the Command to Col: Slaughter—Being in haste I can only add that I am,

yr: mo: obt humble Servannt.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO COL. P. LEGRAS.

From the original in the State Capitol at Richmond, Va.

KASKASKIA, 23d Augst, 1779.

Sir:—You'ill please to require immediately that both the called in Emmissions of Continental Money to be sealed up & stopped from Circulating, & give the person

owing them a certificate, no matter whether in French or English. The Certificate will be necessary for this reason, because after the first June it was lost to the owner by order of Congress, if it was not paid into some Continental office. The Congress, I expect, have made provision for Ilinois on account of the Impossibility of transmitting it down by the 1st of June. It is therefore necessary that Ilinois money be prevented from mixing with any other, less the whole be rejected on that account. I inclose you a copy of the certificates granted by me, with the advertisement. It would be best to affix a day after which you will seal and certify no more. Let the whole be done with one seal, the better to prevent confusion. I cannot have the pleasure to see St. Vincenne by the time proposed. Col. Clark's Departure will occasion me to stay longer than I intended. Write me the news by every opportunity, and in cases of Importance send me an Express.

I am, sir, your mo. obed. & humble servant,

JNO. TODD, Jr.

Col. P. LEGRAS, or officer commanding the Villlage of St. Vincenne (per favor of Capt. Gamelin).

I have prohibited by proclamation the exportation of provision from this country for a certain time, which you will endeavour to put in execution with you. J. TODD, Jr.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO OLIVER POLLOCK.

From the original in the State Capitol at Richmond, Va.

Sir:—Accompanying this are letters to Gov. Galvez and yourself from the Virginia Board of Trade, to be sent by the way of Kaskaskias. A late packet from Govt. to myself have been miscarried, or I could inform you with more certainty whether Some Bank is not established in Europe

to give credit to your Draughts made on behalf of this State. There is, or will be certainly, perhaps in Bordeaux. I wish, as I before informed you, for a list of all the Bills drawn upon you, with notes of those ans'd and protested. I could wish you had been better informed of the authority and Rank of some of the United States officers, as well as our own. I fear numbers unauthorized have drawn for private purposes. Colo. Clark's & Roger's Bills were drawn from the necessity of their situation, and will undoubtedly be approved. Any other Bills are voidable, tho' perhaps not yet void. The purpose for which they were drawn may assist you in judging therein. But observe no persons whatever in the Western Department either is or ever has been authorised by the Govt. of Virginia to draw upon any person but the Govr. or Treasurer.

The State will shortly need another supply of goods for the Troops in this quarter. The private authority given Mr. Lindsay last year, with the letter to yourself and my wants, are neither out of date, and you will still oblige me by observing their contents. I hope shortly to hear that the Missisipi harbours no nations the Enemy to the commerce & Rights of America. Whether Britain be humbled by the arms of a powerful monarch or our Infant States, my Joy will be equal. Govr. Galvez' literary and military Character are much talk'd of in Virginia, amongst whom he is held in highest Estimation. I beg you would present him with profer of my services and thanks for the assistance he has render'd to a people who do not fail to repay him in Gratitude. (A copy.) JOHN M'DOWELL, Sec'y.

Mr. POLLOCK, Feb. 9th, 1780.

[Endorsed:] The above letter was found among Col. Todd's papers, without signature, but endorsed to Oliver Pollock, Esq., and appears to be Col. Todd's handwriting.

J. D.

OLIVER POLLOCK TO JOHN TODD, COUNTY LIEUT: OF ILLINOIS, ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF HIS, WITHOUT DATE BY THE HANDS OF MONS: PERRAULT—

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, 347.

NEW ORLEANS, May 4, 1780.

By this he had received a bill on France for £65.814⅝ for his advances made to Virginia, but is unable to negotiate it at that place, on account of the great scarcity of specie, which would continue until a supply be gotten from Havana. This gives him great concern, because it prevents his using the bills of Gen: Clarke and other officers, and therefore from procuring the supplies of Clothing so much needed by them.

Gov: Galvez had captured Mobile, and is besiging Pensacola,—had been created a Field Marshall—fhould he be successful at Pensacola, and return to New Orleans, he should exert him to make use of him—

By Post Script of the 26th he regrets to say—Gov: Galvez has returned to New Orleans: not hav'g been supported in time by the expected fleet from Havana, had abondoned the Seige of Pensacola—He has made application to Galvez for pecuniary affistance but without success, as that officer required all his funds for his own purposes —had managed however, to negotiate Clarkes & Montgomerys' bills, and earnestly begs, that those officers will be as frugal as poffible with the purchases made.

COL. JOHN TODD, JNR., TO GOV. JEFFERSON.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 358.

1780, June 2, RICHMOND.

May it please your Excellency:—On consulting with Col. Clark, we found it impracticable to maintain so many posts

in the Illinois with so few men, & concluded it better to draw them all to one post. The Land at the Junction of the Ohio & Mississippi was judged best suited for the purpose as it would command the Trade of an extensive Country on both sides of each River, & might serve as a check to any Incroachments from our present Allies, the Spaniards, whose growing power might justly put us upon our guard & whose fondness for engrossing Territory might otherwise urge them higher up the River upon our side than we would wish. The Expenses in erecting this new post & victualing the men would have been obstacles insurmountable without a settlement contiguous to the Garrison to support it, where adventurers would assist the Soldiers in the heavy work of Building their fortifications. I therefore granted to a certain number of families four hundred acres to each Family, at a price to be settled by the General Assembly, with Commissions for Civil & Military Officers & the necessary Instructions. Copies of the principal of which I herewith send you, The other being agreable to the printed forms heretofore delivered me by the Governor & Council.

Lest the withdrawing our Troops from St. Vincenne might raise suspicions among the Citizens, to our disadvantage, I have sent to Major Bosseron, the then District Commandant, blank Commissions, with powers to raise one Company & put them in possession of the Garrison, with assurance that pay and rations sh'd be allowed them by the Governmnt.

When Col. Clark left the Falls, his Officers & Men to the amount of perhaps 120 were all well cloathed except in the article of Linens.

Mr. Isaac Bowman, with 7 or 8 men & one family, set off from Kaskaskia the 15th nov: last in a Batteau, attended by another Batteau with 12 men & 3 or 4 families in it, bound to the falls of Ohio. I judged it safer to send

to the Falls many articles belonging to the Commonwealth, by Bowman, than to bring them myself by land. Bowman's Batteau fell into the hands of the Chicksaw Indians, & the other arrived in March or April at the French Lick on Cumberland, with the account that Bowman and all the men except one Riddle were killed and taken.

I inclose your Excellency a List of such articles as belonged to the State, as well as I can make out from my detached memorandums. My Books and many necessary papers being also lost.

Many necessary Articles of Intelligence yet remain unmentioned. I will enjoy no Leisure until I shall have fully acquainted your Excellency with the Situation of the Illinois.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Yr. Excellency's most obt. & humble servant.

GENL: GEO: ROGERS CLARK TO COLO JOHN TODD.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, 338.

LOUISVILLE, March, 1780.

Dr Colo:—By the Acts from Every Post in the Illinois so nearly corresponding, I make no doubt of the English Regaining the Interest of many Tribes of Indians, and their designs agst the Illinois (Perhaps on Gov: Hamiltons' plan), and without some speedy check may prove fatal to Kentucky and the Total lofs of the Westrn Country on the Mifsifsippi. I am not clear but the Spaniards would fondly suffer their Settlements in the Illinois to fall with ours for the Sake of having the opertunity of Retaking Both. I doubt they are too fond (of) Territory to think of Restoring it again. Although there is but few British Troops on the Lakes, defitiency is full Replaced by the

Immence quantity of goods they have, the Effects of which among the Savages you well know, not being aprehensive of a visit, I make no doubt of their having planed some Expedition of Importance against our Posts, which if they gain, may be attended with greater consequences than I have Hinted at, they have greater opertunities of knowing our cituation, than we have of theirs, which you know they could not deprive us of. you well know the difficulties we have laboured under with our Joint Efferts to maintain our Ground, and support our Interest among the Savages in that Dept. and the Reasons why, which is now greater than Ever, as the bad Crops and the severity of the Winter hath Rendered it Impofsible for the Towns in the Illinois to make any further supplies until next Harvest. the Troops being Intituled to a Discharge in a few weeks, Except those that have Reinlisted when Joined by Capt: Rogers, when armed will not amount to more than one hundred and fifty, which is too few under our present circumstances to think of Deffending the diferent post we now occupy. Letters from his Excellency, and a promifsing act from our Recruiting Officers may perhaps soon alter our apparent Circumstances. but as yet Receiving no advice from Either, already meeting with many disappointments in my Expectations much to the disadvantage of the Dept, a few weaks Hesitation may be productive of long future disadvantage. I think it best to act as though we had no Expectation of being afsisted Either with men or provitions. Your Councell not only necefsary, but which you know I prize, is what I want

If we ware Tolerably formadable at any one post that we could subsist at, it might have a great and good Effect.

As I Hinted, to lay afside all Expection of a Reinforcement, I see but the one probable method of maintang our Authority in the Illinois, which is this. by Amediately Evacuating our present posts, and let our whole force

Center at or near the Mouth of Ohio, which will be too Contemnable to answer the good effect proposed, without we fall upon some method to draw of a Considerable Reinforcement from Kentuck of Militia. Families would be of the greatest service, as they are always followed by two or three times their numbers of young men. they would with their store of provitions be able to Victual great part of our Troops in proportion to their number, which if only one Hundred, by the Ensuing fall would be able to Victual a Ridgment, besides Establishing a post that his Excellency is very Anctious for (the Reason I imagine we are boat Acqd with) and the Interests of all the Western Countrey call for. One Hundrd Families, their followers, the Troops we have already Ingaged, those whose time of service is or shortly will Expire, that would Remain at the place, when Join'd, would be considerable. the Report of which by the time it Reach our Enemies would be augmented perhaps to Trible our numbers, as such Intelligence is always agravated by the Indians, and I don't doubt but that it wonld put a stop for some time to their proceedings, as I know it would greatly Confuse the Indians they are like to win from us, as our temporary force, with the French Militia, probably counting the Spaniards, would be too Considerable for them to temper with. our only chance at present to save that Countrey is by Incouraging the Families, but I am sensible nothing but land will do it. I should be exceeding Cautious in doing any thing that would displease government, but their present Interest, in many Respects obvious to us boath, call so loud for it, that I think Sir, that you might even Venture to give a Deed for Forty or Fifty Thousand Acres of Land at said place, at the price that government may demand for it. it Interfears with no Claim of our friendly Indians, the greatest Barriour to the Inhabitants of the Illinois against the Southern Ind-

ians, Security of the Genl: Commerce and perhaps the saving of the Countrey to the State, and probably in a few months enable us to act again on the offensive.

I should be against suffering Families to settle promisly in any part of the Illinois at present, but the Establishment of the said post is so necefsary, and as it Cannot be Compleeat without the Families, I think it your Duty to give the aforesaid Incouragement and such Instructions as would confine the people for some time to a Fort. before you could consnlt Government it might be too late. Sustenance for some time will be procured with difficulty, but I cannot think of the consequences of losing poffeffion of the Countrey without a more determined Resolution to Risque every point Rather than suffer it (for they the English, cannot execute any matter of very great importance among the Savages without it. I know your concern to be Eaqual to mine. if you Concur with me in sentiment, let me know Amediately, or such Amendment as you might think more advantageous.

I am Sir, with Real Esteem, Your very Humble Servt.

LIEUT. COL. J. M. P. LEGRAS TO GOVENOR OF VIRGINIA.

Translation from the original in the State Capitol at Richmond, Va.

WILLIAMSBURG, May 22nd, 1780.

Sir:—The integrity with which your honorable assembly dispenses justice to the faithful subjects of the States emboldens me to represent to you the wrong impression you will receive from the papers with which Mr. Simon Nathan is charged in case your goodness orders payment. The inhabitants of St.Vincennes & the country of the Illinois ignorant of the act of Congress have sold their harvests to the army of Col. Roger Clark and have re-

ceived in payment piastres of the Continent, upon the footing and for the value of the Spanish piastres. Persons in authority (by your orders) have circulated them as such and have assured us authentically that there would be nothing lost. They have even passed counterfeits. In the position of magistrate of this district, my duty and benevolence prompt me to beg you to take pity upon a people who by this loss find themselves reduced to the most urgent necessities. In addition to this there has been published at St. Vincennes an order by command of Col. Jean Todd to oblige the residents to receive this money as Spanish piastres and many have been imprisoned for having refused. Some time later the before mentioned Col. John Todd required me, as it appears from his letter, to stop the circulation in view of the quantity of counterfeit orders that many are circulating which I have done, to avoid confusion without lessening (or preventing) the value of the good. Earnestly hoping that the States will pay this money according to the denomination. I have the honor of being very respectfully, Sir, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. M. P. LEGRAS, Lt. Col.

THOS: JEFFERSON TO THE HON: THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES—

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, 360.

IN COUNCIL, June 14th, 1780.

Sir:—In a Letter which I had the Honor of addrefsing you on the meeting of the present General Afsembly, I informed you of the necefsities which had led the Executive to withdraw our Western troops to the Ohio—Since the date of this letter, I have received the inclosed of the Second instant from Coll: Todd, communicating the measures he had adopted in conjunction with Colo:

Clarke to procure such a Settlement contiguous to the Post which shall be taken as may not only strengthen the garrison occasionally, but be able to raise provisions for them. as the confirmation of these measures is beyond the powers of the Executive, it is my duty to refer them to the General Afsembly. it may be proper to observe that the grant of Lands to Colo. Todd was made on a supposition that the post would be taken on the North side of the Ohio, whereas I think it more probable it will be on the north side in the Lands lying between the Tanessee, Ohio, Mifisiffippi and Carolina boundary. These lands belong to the Chickasaw Indians, who from intelligence which we think may be relied on, have entered into a war with us.

The expenditures of the Illinois have been deemed from some exprefsions in the act establishing that county not subject to the examination of the board of Auditors as the Auditing these accounts is very foreign to the ordinary office of the Council of State, would employ much of that time and attention which at present is called to objects of more general importance, and as their powers would not enable them to take into consideration the justice and expediency of indemnifying Col. Todd for his lofses and services, as desired in the enclosed Letter from Him, of the thirteenth instant, they beg leave to submit the whole to the consideration of the General Assembly—I have the honor to be with great respect & esteem, Sir, Your most obedient, & most humble servant.

JOHN DODGE, INDIAN AGENT, TO GOV. JEFFERSON:

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 367.

August 1st, 1780, FORT JEFFERSON.

Sir:—I think it my indispensable duty to lay before you a true state of our situation in this Country since my

arrival, which probably may throw some lights on the various reports which may reach you through channels not so well acquainted with its real wants as I am.

On my arrival at the Falls of the Ohio, Col. John Todd gave me instructions to proceed to Kaskaskies, in order to take charge of the goods when arrived, which were purchased by M. Lindsay for this department, with farther orders to divide them into two parcels, one of which for the troops, and the other to be disposed of to our friendly indian allies: considering it better to sell them on reasonable [terms] than dispose of them in gifts; Horses and ammunition being articles much wanted for the Troops, I contracted for and received a quantity of lead and some horses before the arrival of the goods, and having discretionary powers, was constrained to accept of orders drawn on me for provisions which could not otherwise be obtained. Since the goods came into my hands, the troops and Inhabitants at this place not having received the expected supplies from Government, and being well assured that without some timely relief the post and settlement must be evacuated, I was also constrained at divers times to issue quantities of the goods intended to be disposed of to our Indian Allies, in order to furnish them with the means of subsistence.

The few troops that are now here are too inconsiderable to guard themselves: nor are the inhabitants much better, notwithstanding they remain in great spirits in expectation of relief from government, and have with great bravery defeated a very large party of Savages who made a regular attack on the village, at daybreak on the morning of the 17th ult.

Col. Clark has divided his few men in the best manner possible so as to preserve the Country. the apprehension of a large body of the enemy in motion from detroit towards the falls of Ohio, has called him there with what men

he could well spare from this Country, before he had well breathed after the fatigues of an expedition up the Mississippi—and Col. Crockett not arriving with either men or provisions, as was expected, has really involved both the troops and settlers in much distress, and greatly damped the spirits of industry in the latter, which till lately was so conspicuous. I see no other alternative, from the present appearance of our affairs, but that the few goods I have left, after supplying the troops, must all go for the purchase of provisions to keep this settlement from breaking up: and how I shall ever support my credit, or acquit myself of the obligations I have bound myself under, to those of whom I have made purchases for the troops before the arrival of the Goods, I know not. Our Credit is become so weak among the French inhabitants, our own, and the spaniards upon the opposite side of the Mississippi, that one dollar's worth of provision or other supplies cannot be had from them without prompt payment, were it to save the whole Country; by which you will perceive that without a constant and full supply of goods in this quarter to answer the exigencies of Government, nothing can ever be well affected but in a very contracted manner.

I observe that the distance the settlers, who come in general to this Country, have to travel, impoverishes them in a great degree. They come at the expense of their all, in full hopes and expectations of being assisted by Government. Were these hopes cherished and supplies of necessaries of all kinds furnished them in the manner of the neighboring Spaniards, to be paid in produce, such as might answer for the troops or for exportation, many good consequences would be attendant. emigrants, on such encouragement, would flock to us in numbers, instead of submitting to the Spanish Yoke; the principal part of their new settlements would join us; all those from the Natchez in particular only wait the encouraging invitation to re-

move themselves and their property to our settlement, preferring the mildness of our laws to the rigours of the Spanish, which they detest, notwithstanding their great offers. Such encouragement would be a spur to industry which would never die. The troops would, in a little time, be solely furnished in provisions by our settlers, and in process of time, a valuable trade might be opened with the overplus.

These hints I beg leave to offer to your own better judgement, conscious that if they are worthy of notice you will direct their proper uses.

I have got a party of the friendly savages of the Kaskaskie tribe to hunt and scout for us; they are of singular service, as the provisions in store are totally exhausted, and indeed their hunting, tho' it may afford an useful, yet it is a very precarious supply.

As to the general disposition of these indians in alliance with us, it appears at present to be very peaceable; but as poverty is always subject to temptation, I fear their good intentions may be seduced by those who have it more in their power to supply their wants, being well convinced of the necessity of having proper supplies for them, which will not only keep them in our interest, but even afford us a very beneficial traffic.

The bearer of this travels to the Falls of Ohio, thro' the wood. I am uncertain what the fate of my letter will be, as I know he has a dangerous and tedious journey before him; however, by the next opportunity I shall do myself the honor of writing to your Excellency a few more of my observations, begging leave once more to remark the necessity of keeping at all times full supplies of goods in this remote quarter, in order to forward the service of Government, encourage the settlement of the frontiers, supply our troops with necessaries, provisions, &c., and finally open a very profitable and extensive trade in little time.

Forgive the freedom of my remarks, which you will please to do me the honor to correct.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's
most obedient and most humble servant, &c., &c.

COL. JOHN TODD, JNR., TO GOV. JEFFERSON:

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 393.

Nov. 30th, 1780, LEXINGTON, KY.

May it please your Excellency:—We have been for some time past & are still dreading an Invasion from the neighboring Northern Indians. Intelligence by the way of St. Vincent informs us that late in Oct. a great number of Indians & English were at the late-destroyed Shawnese Towns waiting at the rise of the water to make a Descent either against the Falls or this place. I have ordered upon Duty part of the militia of this County (Fayette) at three of the most exposed forts, and are purchasing up a quantity of Corn. The people seem fond at present to sell to the Country, & Corn will be almost the only article which Government may expect from this Quarter. I expect to procure between one & two Thousand Bushels by giving Certificates to be settled by the Auditors, or agreed upon by the Commissary, for 40 or 50 £ pr. Barrell, or 2/6 hard money. I hope I have not acted amiss in this Respect, altho' I have no Instructions. As the Assembly at last session recommended the plan, laid by the several County Lieutenants & there is a Certainty of a vigorous attack next Spring, I conclude that a delay for Orders is unnecessary. The Indians are annoying us every Week in small parties. Two small detachments of militia are now in pursuit of some who stole Horses two nights ago from McConnells' Station.

A Cargoe of Goods, I have heard is arrived at Fort

Jefferson, for the use of the State, said to be consigned by Mr. Pollock to myself as Co Lieutenant of Illinois. I propose writing to Capt. Dodge to store them up until further orders from [your] Excellency as soon as I shall have an opportunity & the Report shall be authenticated.

I hope to be excused in expressing my Desires that Your Excellency may have in contemplation an Early Expedition next Spring against our Savage neighbors. I will venture to assure you, that any Orders which may tend to that purpose will be executed with the greatest alacrity by Officers & Men. Capt: Quirk, I hear is on the the way with 30 or 40 men & I can hear nothing from Col: Crockett.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Your Excellencys' most obedt & humble Servant, &c., &c.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO GOV. JEFFERSON.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 460.

January 24th, 1781, LEXINGTON, KY.

May it please your Excellency:—I recd. the enclosed letters a few days ago; as they contain some matters of Consequence, I transmit them just as I receive them. They are written with a freedom which spare no character, & may with additional Letters which I expect you have rec'd, threw light upon our situation in Illinois. Winston is Commandt. at Kaskaskia. McCarty a Captain in the Illinois Regt, who has long since rendered himself disagreeable by endeavoring to enforce Military Law upon the Civil Department at Kohos. The peltry mentioned by Winston as purloined or embezzled by Montgomery, was committed to their joint care by me in Nov: 1779, & from the Circumstance of Col: Montgomery's taking up with an infamous Girl, leaving his wife & flying down

the River, I am inclined to believe the worst that can be said of him, being so far out of the Road of Business I cannot do the State that Justice I wish by sending down his case immediately to the Spanish Commandants in the Mississippi.

A late Letter informed your Excellency of my Design of laying some Beef & Corn in store for the Expedition planned last year. I expect to get 30 or 40 thousand Weight of Beef & two or three thousand Bushels of Corn on Better Terms then will be got anywhere in this Country.

A Prisoner, Martin Wistill taken spring was a year, at Wheeling by the Shawanese, tow weeks ago left his party being 7 Shawanese, about half a mile from Bryants Fort as they were stealing Horses. He says the Shawanese have built 4 Block Houses at Logan's Town 12 miles beyond the Pickaway: that they are much distressed for want of provisions and are keen for making an attack next Spring, upon the Kentucky settlements—that Blackfish & Logan are dead, &c. I am uneasy lest Crockett should not arrive timeously at Licking, & many of our settlers seem desirous to fly immiediately to the South side of Kentucky lest he should not. * * *

I have the Honor to be with Greatest Respect Your Excellency's Most Obedient & humb servt.

RICH'D MC CARTY "TO JOHN TODD, ESQ."

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 379. Enclosure in John Todd's letter, Jan. 24, 1781, to Gov. Jefferson.

October 14th, 1780, CASCASKIA.

Sir:—When shall I begin to appologize for the Different light and Oppinion, I saw and had of You when hear last Year, and now, the Spirit of a free subject that you inculcated thro' your better knowledge of things was hid

to me. In short, Honour requires of me to render You the Justice you desarve, and at the same time to inform you the reason of my altering my notions of things. I then thought the Troops hear would be duly supported by the State, and the Legal expense for them paid to the people Justly. I had thought the Duty of an Officer who had any Command was to see Justice done his Soldiers, and that they had their Rights without wronging his Country. I then thought it was also his Duty to foresee and use all manner of economie in Laying up Provisions for these Soldiers, to carry on any Opperation that his supperiours should judge expedient to order him on, without any regard to private interests whatever, but for the Good of the State he served. I then never Immagined that an Agent would be sent hear to Trade in connection with a Private Person to Purchase the Certificates from the people at such rates which must appear scandulous & Dishonorable to the State.

To the contrary of all which I am now convinced by occular Demonstration: in short we are become the Hated Beasts of a whole people by Pressing horses, Boats &c &c, Killing cattle, &c &c, for which no valuable consideration is given: even many not a certificate, which is hear looked on as next to nothing.

I have sent Col: Clarke, in an Extract from my Journal, the proceedings as far as I know, of one Col: De la Balme,* and his raising a Party to go against Detriot, Not being a Commander I cannot say whether he has proper authority so to do or not.

* Augustin Moltin de la Balme, a French cavalry officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel, offered his services to the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution, and came to this country in 1776, bearing the highest testimonials and recommendations from Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin, at Paris. He was appointed inspector-general of cavalry in the Continental army with the rank of colonel. In 1780, he came to the West to lead an expedition against Detroit, it being thought that his influence with the French in the

The people have sent by him memorials to Congress or the French envoy at Philadelphia setting forth all the evils we have done. I think Government should be informed of this, as the people are now entirely allinated Agst us: he has told Indians, french Troops will be hear in the Spring. I have no right to find fault, or Blame my Supperiours, yet I have a right to see plain, and wish for the Credit of the State, that Government had eyes to see hear as Plaine as I do.

I am Sir, with Esteem & consideration Your most obt & hble servt &c &c.

RICH'D WINSTON TO COL. JOHN TODD.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 380.

KASKASKIAS, October 24th, 1780.

Dear Sir:—Yours by Mr. Lindsay was the last I had the Honour of receiving, since which no favourable opertunity has offered wherewith you could Expect to hear from me, untill Mr. William Gelaspies' departure, by whom I wrote you as fully as I could concerning this Country, and in Particular all that regarded your Department: all which I must think you have foreseen before you went off, the disagreeableness of which every thinking man would avoid, and of which I now send you a Duplicate, Together with some additions since that time.

That State of Illinois is far from being in so easy a Way as might have been expected from the declarations of the

Illinois would enable him to readily enlist a sufficient force. He obtained recruits at Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, to the number of one hundred or more, and had also a band of Indian warriors. With these he attacked and destroyed the post of Kekionga, on the Maumee River; but while encamped on the river Aboite, his party was surprised at night by the Miamis and utterly routed. La Balme was slain, and his papers, which were quite voluminous, were carried by the Indians to the British commander at Detroit, and are now among the Haldimand papers in the British Museum.

E. G. M.

Genl: Assembly, or had their Officers a Little occonomy—Concerning which the majistrates did remonstrate, which Remonstrance was Treated as Insolence and Impertinence, for having dared to remonstrate against their ruinous proceedings I wish all may be looked into: in the hopes of which, all is on Record.

As to the Peltries which you left with Colonel Montgomery and me, they were taken out of my hands, and I am left Behind hand for fifteen Packs—how I will or may be Indemnified I know not—Colonel Montgomery says that his estate is Sufficient to pay a great deal more I wish it may be so) I was by force obliged to give up, as I could not content with Bayonetts for a thing that is not my own.

I refer you to Mr. Lindsay, concerning the Goods purchased by him at New Orleans. they are now in the Pessession of him and the Illustrious Captain Dodge. I wish Government may gett a satisfactory acct. of them, yet I doubt it—this part of the world is too far from Government to call people to acct before it is too late—there is great Strides Taken for to make money at any rate—as to our Civil Department 'tis but in an Indiferent way ever since the Military has refused their prison, for which we offered to pay very handsomely and since which They Stretch greatly to bring the Country under the Military rod and throw of the Civil Authority. So fond they are to be medling with what is not within their Power. There is strange things carried on in this place—Colonel Montgomery is gone from here, with Brooks and Famillt (thank God)—Capt: Brashears if Married to Brookes' Daughter, consequently has quit the service and gone with the rest: Col: Montgomery, on the day before his Departure did Endeavor to settle the Peltrie fund with — In which he failed, and Besides the Drafts by him drawn on me, and by me Accepted to the amount of Fifteen packs,

he has fallen short Eleven Packs, and what the rest has been Expended in, is to be looked into by Higher Powers —there is no accts—receipts only for so many Packs, without saying for why or for what—Such is the proceedings of Col: Montgomery, who left this 19th inst. and Carried with him Large Quantities of Provisions, Boats deeply loaden, besides Five Black Slaves, for all which the Publick fund has suffered. Since the arrival of this Captain Bentley, there has been nothing Butt discord and disunion in the place—he has left no stone unturned to Extinguish the Laws of the State, and to revive the Heathen Law, being well accustomed to Bribes and Entertainments. Government ought to regulate the Trade as there are many abuses Committed under Military sanction —there Passed this way a Frenchman, called himself Colonell de la Balme,* he says, in the American Service— I look upon him to be a Mal Content, must disgusted at the Virginians, yet I must say he done some good—he pacified the Indians. he was received by the Inhabitants Just as the Hebrews would receive the Masiah—was conducted from the Post here, by a large Detacht of the Inhabitants as well as different Tribes of Indians—he went from here against Detroit Being well assured that the Indians were on his Side—Gott at this Plase and the Kahos about fifty Volunteers—and are to randezvous at Ouia. Capt: Duplasi from here, went along with him to Lay before the French Embasador all the Greivance this Country labours under by the Virginians, which is to be strongly backed by Monsieur de la Balme—tis the general Opinion, that he will take Baubin the Great Partizan at Miamis, and from thence to Fort Pitt—this is all that I can say, only that he passed about one Month here, without seeing Col: Montgomery, nor did Montgomery see him.

* See note on page 337.

It Being so long a time Since we had any news from you, we Conclude therefrom that Government has given us up to do for Ourselves the Best we can, until such time as it pleases Some other State or Power to take us under their Protection—a few lines from you would give some of us great satisfaction, yett the Generality of the People are of Opinion that this Country will be given up to France—Be that as it will, a Line from you, will add much to the happiness of,

Dear Sir, Your Most Humble and Obedt Servant &c &c.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO GOV. JEFFERSON.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, page 481.

LEXINGTON, KY., February 1st, 1781.

May it please your Excellency:—Accounts from all Quarters lead us to expect vigorous measures from our Enemies the next Campaign. I have just received Duplicates of Letters sent from our Officers of Illinois to others at Louisville, which informs that the Spanish & American Ilinois Settlements are preparing defensively for heavy attacks. The original Letters I hear are sent.

On conferring with Col: Bowman's & Trigg, We concluded it expedient to send 150 men to Garrison the Mouth of Licking, until Crockett shall arrive, which we shall expect weekly. We apprehended the expence wd be less to government that to wait until the Enemy arrive at our settlements, & better Conduce to the security of the people.

[Sends recommenditions for Certain Officers — asks for some Blank Commissions, and assures him no abuses shall follow. There are vacancies for other officers, whose relative ranks are not yet settled.]

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO GOV. JEFFERSON.

From "Calender of Virginia State Papers," Vol. II, page 44.

LEXINGTON, KY., April 15th, 1781.

May it please your Excellency:—Your letter of 24 Dec: as also that of the 19th Jany: last inclosing sundry papers came safely to hand a few days ago. By the last Accounts I can procure from Jefferson and Lincoln, the Militia of the whole three Counties at present amount to about 1050 —Fayette 156—Lincolon 606—Jefferson 300—I have just made a Draft of 78 from this county for Col: Clark, & if the other Counties draft proportionally your demand will be fully satisfied.

I hear nothing as yet of Col: Clark, but I conceive I have just cause of expostulating with him on acunt of this County, its true state being probably unknown to your Exeellency when the Draft was required to be proportioned to the militia—Exposed at every Fort, & weakened by daily removals of its Strength to the South Side of Kentucky, we are scarcely able to keep our Forts. Should Colo: Clark take his Rout by the Shawnese Nation, all cause of complaint must cease, as the Enemy will thereby be drawn off from our Forts.

Being unable just now to spare Labourers & Guards at a distance from our Forts, for making Canoes, I have sent Mr. Lindsay to Lincoln for Assistance, which I make no doubt of procuring. I fear I shall meet with some difficultics in conveying the Stores at Lexington & Bryants to the Canoes, for want of Horses, ours being nearly all taken by the Indians & Col: Bowman does not prove so friendly as I think he ought to be in giving me necessary Assistance.

Our circumstances have received so material a change within twelve months that a draft of 18 Militia for the Continental Army w'd be singularly oppressive upon Fay-

ette or Jefferson. Happy sh'd we be & readily would we spare them, if our situation were but as the Legislature expected. There is scare one fort in the county but once a month seems upon the eve of breaking for want of men to defend it. Such residents as had most property and Horses to remove their effects, have retreated to Lincoln. One half of the remainder are unable to Remove. We have no tax Commissioner in the County & almost nothing to tax. All which circumstances plead I hope in Excuse sufficiently for the militia at present. Whenever our circumstances will admit of it, the people will, I'm satisfied enlist voluntarily in the Continental Army, from a genius they possess for war, as well as the greatness of the Bounty. * *

I inclose you a letter from Mr. Pollock—I still receive complaints from the Illinois. that department suffers I fear thro' the Avarice & Prodagality of our Officers: they all vent complaints against each other — I believe our French friends have the justest grounds of dissatisfaction.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant.

COL. JOHN TODD, JR. TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. II, page 562.

LEXINGTON, KY., October 21st, 1781.

May it please your Excellency:—I expect you will, long before this reaches you, have an acct. of our proceedings in this Country, by Letters from Genl: Clarke sent by Major Crittenden. After so much assistance given to our Country by Government to enable us to act either offensively or defensively: after so much money expended upon the Western Frontiers, I feel desirous and anxious to remove any censures that our little Country may possible

labour under in the opinion of your Excellency & the world. I do not pretend to know, to whom the failure in the intended Expedition is owing, but the officers & men of these counties have persevered in rendering all possible assistance.

By letters from your Excellency's predecessor we were led to expect an early expedition. 500 men with canoes &c were required from these Counties to be at the Falls by March last. The men required were drafted & set apart for the Expedition & the canoes chiefly made. during the course of the spring & summer the Drafts necessarily decreased. At a meeting of the Field Officers at Louisville summoned on Genl: Clarke's arrival the beginning of September, we found the strength of the three Counties to amount to only 760 men. We offered the General two thirds of them, if he chose to go an Expedition, but rather advised him to proceed in garrisoning the Ohio upwards, agreeably to a recommendation of the Assembly, or at least to attempt nothing more than a small Expedition up the Miami. it was our opinion, if but one Garrison sd. be built, it sh'd be at the mouth of Kentucky as the most valuable post. If there sh'd be afterwards troops to spare, another sh'd be at the mouth of Licking opposite the big Miami, at Lawrence's Creek or Limestone Run: but we seemed unanimous that the mouth of Kentucky, in a war with the Western & Lake Indians, was a post of the utmost consequence. The sentiments of Genl: Clarke were different from ours in this Respect. He imagined the Falls to be a Post of the first Importance, being as he always expressed it, the Key of the Country.

As I wish to see military service always properly husbanded, I beg leave to offer a few reasons to your excellency, to show that keeping our principal post at the Falls is injudiciously wasting of our strength.

1st. The situation of the mouth of Kentucky is more in the road of the enemy in their war Excursions to any part of this Country, than any part of the Ohio below that place, a few Settlements in Jefferson County only excepted.

2ndly. The River Kentucky wd. afford a ready and cheap transportation of provisions which so abound in the upper Settlements, whereas if the main army staid at the Falls, an out-post at the Mouth of Kentucky wd. always kept close in Garrison, & being in continual terror could afford no protection towards transporting the provisions & rather be a trap for the exposed watermen.

3dly. The Mouth of Kentucky must be much healthier than the Falls, being free from the stagnated pools which overspread the flat lands near the Falls & which everyyear kill or incpaacitate for service great numbers of our soldiers.

To say that the Falls is the Key to this Country, seems to me unintelligible. It is a strong Rapid, which may in an age of commerce, be a considerable obstruction to the navigator, but as we have no trade, we neither need, nor have any keys to Trade. If it be understood in a Military sense, I think it a mistaken appellation, as the Enemy can & do pass with as little molestation just above the Falls & just below the Falls, as they could on any other part of the River.

On parting with Genl: Clarke we expected to furnish assistance in building the Garrison at the Mouth of Kentucky from the Militia, but expected it to be built principally by the Regulars & wholly garrisoned by them, since which a Requisition has come to Colo: Logan and myself to furnish Tools and build the Garrison and afterwards defend it by men drawn from the Body of our militia until he sh'd have Leisure to relieve them, which we are satisfied wd. not happen in any short time.

On consulting with Col: Logan we concluded to defer building the Garrison, because we had no intrenching Tools, no professed Eugineers, no money & we conceived it to belong to men who draw constant pay to garrison it. The result of our consultation we sent to the General, with a promise to lay the matter before your Excellency or the General Assembly. If the State had no troops on pay, we should have no cause to remonstrate, but when they have troops, and those Troops kept in the more interior & secure posts: when so much has already been expended: to augment the Expence by putting the militia on duty at a place distant from 60 to 120 miles from home, we conceive to be impolitick & contrary to the opinion of your Excellency, to whom we submit the matter.

A Recommendation for Justices will be handed your Excellency by our delegates also for several militia officers. If it is not inconsistent with the practice, I would wish for a few Blank Commissions to be sent to the Court. Owing to so great a distance from the Seat of Government, officers loose generally half a year in the date of their commissions.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect— Your Excellency's most ob't & very h'ble Serv't.

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*COLO: JOHN TODD TO GOV: JEFFERSON.

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. III, 130.

LEXINGTON, FAYETTE CO., KY., April 15th, 1782.

May it please your Excellency:—The Inhabitants of Fayette County have been so harrassed this spring by the

* Accompanying this letter is a well-drawn plan of the Fort, and account current of cost of building—with description thereof as follows: "Laid down from a Scale of 20 feet to the Inch—80 feet in the clear—walls 7 feet thick of Rammed Dirt, inclosed with good Timbers 9 feet high only, from 4 feet upwards 5 feet thick—The Top of the Wall is neatly picketed 6 feet High, proof against Small Arms—Ditch 8 feet wide and between 4 & 5 feet deep.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Indians, that I was for some time apprehensive that the whole country w'd be evacuated, as Panicks of that Kind have proved very catching, and the fate of the neighboring garrisons at Licking last year was fresh in their minds—The only plan I could devise to prevent it & sufficiently secure the provisions laid up at Bryants & this place, was to build a new Fort upon a very advantageous situation at this place & make it proof against Swivels & small Artillery, which so terrify our people. I laid off the Fort, upon the simplest plan of a Quadrangle & divided the work equally among four of the most pushing men, with a Bastion to each authorizing them to employ workers from this & the neighboring Stations & assuring them of their pay myself. On the Faith of such assurances considerable sums of money have been lent & advanced to the workmen, so that the work in about 20 Days has been nearly completed in a workmanlike manner. The Gate is nearly finished & the magazine contracted for. The whole Expence amounts to £11,-341.10s, as will appear by the account herewith Sent. It is in vain for me to assure your Excellency that Diligence and Economy has been used in this Business, as the Work so abundantly proves it. I believe four times the expence never before made for the Publick a work equal to this. An Emulation among the overseers, & Rewards in Liquor to the men proved powerful Incentives to Industry. Being a charge of an uncommon nature, I thought proper to present it to your Excellency & the Council, being better Judges of the Necessity & Expediency of the Work than the Anditors, who are probably unacquainted with the Circumstances of this Country. By either of the Delegates your Excellency may have an opportunity of transmitting the money—I have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's mo: obedient & humble Servant.

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS TO BENJAMIN HARRISON, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, CONCERNING COL. JOHN TODD JUNIOR'S ACCOUNTS, ETC.

From the original in the State Capitol at Richmond, Va.

JEFFERSON COUNTY, Feb. 17th, 1783.

Sir:—The Board of Commissrs. wrote the 23d of December in return to your Excellency's favours of Octobr. 16th, & Novn. 4th. In compliance with your orders, we have diligently searched all the papers in our possession that would throw light on the nature of the Bills in Mr. Pollock's hands, yet remain much in the dark, as Colo. Todd's books & accounts are suposed by the Executor to be some where in the Interior parts of Virginia, and he can only lay before us some detached papers, amongst which we find a letter from the Exective, dated in Council Williamsburg, August 20, 1779. In which the Honble. the Lt. Governor, acknowledges the receipt of several letters from Colo. Todd by Colo. Slaughter of the 1st & 2d of July, 1779, which were laid before the council who were pleased with the contents, and approved Colo. Todd's conduct and plan for supporting the credit of the paper money, but that it must be submitted to the assembly who alone can give it efficacy. That the eight draughts Colo. Todd mentions have not been presented, but shall be duly attended to, as the gentlemen to whom they are payable are highly desirous of the grateful attention of the Government. The Board likewise found a Peltry account amongst Colo. Todd's papers, by which it appears we purchased a quantity of Peltry from Mr. Beauregard some time in the fall of the year 1779, amounting to £21,000, for which it is probable he drew bills to the amount. The peltry by this account seems to be paid to sundry persons. Colo. Montgomery's certificate & information to the board, likewise accompanies this. On the whole as

no bills of Colo. Todd's drawing have appeared before us, nor are mentioned in the list transmitted to us, we imagine the bills in Mr. Nathan's possession may probably be for the above purchase, but as we are not favoured either with the amount or date of these bills, and no direct light can be got here, we cannot be positive. On the supposition that the bills were given at that time and on that account, the Commissioners have to observe that 210 packs of Peltry cost the state 2 livres per lb, and that at the time the purchase was made—Peltry and silver were nearly on a par, as it appears. Colo. Todd is said to have given a high price for the Peltry, allowing three livres per lb., which is 50 p. ct. higher than it generally is, shews the purchase was made with depreciated paper money, at a little more than five & a half for one, if the Bills in question were drawn on the above accounts the Commissers. think they should be taken up at the above discount, but the Board wish to refer your Excellency to Colo. Todd's letters of the 1 & 2d July, 1779, which we suppose lodged in the Council chamber, to elucidate the affair, as we can not meet with copies of them.

The Board have finished Capt. George's draughts on Mr. Pollock in favour of Capt. Barbour, but not thinking it prudent to trust the papers relative thereto by this conveyance, they hope your Excellency will dispence with the principles, they went on till they have an opportunity of laying the papers before the executive. As no invoices were produced either by Capt. George or Capt. Barbour, the Board affixed the prices to the cargo delivered at Fort Jefferson from the best lights they could get, at seven thousand five hundred & Eighty eight Dollars, one liver $\frac{2}{3}$ as the prime cost at New Orleans, on which the Board allowed two hundred & twenty five p. Ct. advance for the cargo delivered at Fort Jefferson, amounting in the whole to Twenty four thousand six hundred and sixty one

dollars four livers, Six sous, Eight deniers including all expenses. We have not yet closed Genl. Clark's accounts as we find them so connected with the other accounts, both the Quarter Master's and Commissary's as well as the officers, that we could not finish them before we had a general view of the whole, we will be able to settle his in ten days. To examine all the Accounts minutely will take up a great deal of time, perhaps more than the Executive can imagine, as double receipts have always been taken for sums paid, the vouchers require to be listed alphabetically to prevent double entries. None of Mr. Pollock's bills he presented for payment have appeared before the board, but one, of Jan'y 1st, 1781, for five thousand dollars which appears to be for part of the same cargo Capt. George purchased from Capt. Barbour and was a second bill, and is considered as part of 24661, 5⅔ allowed as above.

By depositions it appears these Bills drawn by Wm. Lynn, in 1778, were for goods purchased by Lynn on his own acct. at Kaskaskias & Mesuri, and ought not to be charged to the state. It likewise appears that Robt. Elliot's draughts and the invoices of goods shiped on Acct. and at the risk of the United States, but charged to the state of Virginia by Mr. Pollock was in consequence of the cargo being lost in the Mississippi, and some of the articles that were saved from the wreck being made use of by the troops in the Illinoise. Inventories of the whole cargo and what was saved & applied to the use of the troops are copying, but as we have not fully examined the affair we defer giving our opinion in it. The Board informed your Excellency in theirs of ye Dec. 23, that an Express was sent to Kaskaskias to which they had a return last evening, informing them they might expect some of their principle inhabitants would wait on them with the unsettled accounts, &c., in a short time. Mr. Carbonaux

who will present this, is one of the inhabitants of Kaskaskias and comes to get some private affairs settled but we suppose him principally a deputy to represent the confusion that country is in, which if not settled by this state, we aprehend he will proceed to Congress. None of the post mentioned in Your Excellencys favour of the 16th of Octr. are yet erected. The general we expect will lay before you his reasons for defering that business, an address from the civil and Military officers of Fayette praying us to report our opinion to Government accompanies this.

We think could a fort be erected at or near the mouth of Limestone it would tend greatly to encourage the settling of that country, and that it should be garrisoned by a company of regulars aided by the Militia, & furnished with Flower from the neighborhood of Pitsburg. When we get a little more through the business we will inform your Excellence by express of our proceedings with such remarks on these bills which have been presented for payment and are not laid before us as may be necessary for the Executive to have, before we can return our whole proceedings. We are with great respect your Excellencys. Most obed't Humble Servts.

WILLM. FLEMING,
T. MARSHALL,
CALEB WALLACE.

To His Exellence
The Hon. BENJAMIN HARRISON, Esq.,
Govr. of Virginia.

COL. JOHN MONTGOMERY TO THE HON. THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN ACCOUNTS.*

From "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," Vol. III, page 441.

February 22d, 1783, NEW HOLLAND.

Gentlemen:—As I am sensible that many reports pre-

* As the letters of Col. Todd of Jan. 24, 1781, and of Richard Winston of Oct. 24, 1780, enclosed therein, both printed above, reflect severely upon

judicial to my character hath been spread by persons of an Evil disposition, and perhaps their character not known, may of course make some impression on you; and as my accts, are now on the carpit, I take the liberty of addressing this short narrative to you, the Contents Being an undeniable truth, I am in hopes will have the desired effect and disperse any suspitions you may have, originated by these Characters alluded to. In 1777, being ordered with my Company from Wholstons to the Kentucky Country for its defence, I remained there until the year following, when Col: Clark arrived at the falls of the Ohio with a body of Troops on his way to the Illinois. I Joined him, and on the presumption of our being Suckcessful, it was thought prudent to Establish a small Post at that place for the conveniency of a communication between the Illinois and Kentuckey Countries. after which we set out on our intended enterprise, and met with all the suckcess we could wish for, principally owing to the secrecy of our movements. after remaining in that country untill circumstances appearantly permited our Return, I came of with the volunteers, having Instructions from Col: now Genl. Clark, to wait on his Excellency the Governor as soon as possiable with Letters and verbal messages, when I received Instructions to raise three hundred men and Join Genl. Clark as soon as possiable. raising the greatest part of the Troops, I proceeded down the tennisse river, after destroying the lower Cherokee Towns in concert with Col: Shelby's division. I proceeded on my rout and arrived

Col. Montgomery, it seems but just to print also this letter containing his defence. John Montgomery, an Irishman, joined Col. Clark at the Falls of the Ohio, and accompanied him on his expedition to the Illinois. He commanded the garrison of the fort at Kaskaskia after its surrender by the British, and Aug. 5, 1779, as lieutenant-colonel of the Illinois battalion, was assigned to the military command of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark, colonel of the Illinois battalion and commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces in the western department.—E. G. M.

at Kaskaskia the 29th of May, 1779. an Expedition being already planed, or rather a manouver to prevent the Enemy's taking the Field and Distressing the Frontiers, I was ordered to conduct the Troops by water to St. Vincent on the Wabash, Genl: Clark crossing by Land to to that post with a small escort. the appearance of a design of atacking the Enemy on the Lakes being kept up untill the aprentions of all danger of their attempting anything Capital that Season Vanished, a Garrison was ordered to be left at St. Vincenne. The body of the batalion marched back to the Mississippi to Garrison the Towns Kaskaskia and Kohas. Genl. Clark finding the Public interest required that he should reside at the Falls of the Ohio until provision should be made for the Insueing Campaign, I was ordered to take command of the Troops in the Illinois; make often reports of the State of the Department to Genl. Clark, and to be carefull to have Expences of government as moderate as possible: drawing bills of exchange on him or the Treasury of Virginia for the payment of the Expences of the Troops, studying the general Interest of the State and Tranquility of the Inhabitants of the Different posts leting all kind of opressions be the last shift: this is the Substance of orders I received. I set out for Kaskaskia the 14th of August, and disposed of my Troops according to order, drawing Bills on the Treasurer for the suport of the Troops. after some time the Inhabitants refused to Take Bills drawn any other way than on Mr. Pollock of New Orleans or the Treasurer addressed to both which I was necessitated to do or suffer my troops to perish, not dareing, from the nature of my Instructions to Impress provisions, if to be got by any other mains on moderate Terms. What might have been Genl: Clark's views for giving Such orders I can't acct. for any other way than that of his views of future opperations being such that he suposed it to be our interest to

keep the Inhabitants attached to us by Every means in our power, knowing the influence they had over the minds of a great number of Savage Tribes. My Troops suffered, as the credit of the State fell: no payment being made for the Bills that was Drawn, and never haveing any goods, or other property in my possession to have purchased provisions, which was generally in Specie notes, which the vouchers to my accts. will best show. Bills I gave cash, for the recruiting Service was Depreciated. it required all the Industry we could possiable make use of to support ourselves, by hunting &c. in the Spring 1780, we were threatened with an Invasion. Genl. Clark being informed of it Hurreyed his departure with a small body of Troops to the Falls of the mouth of the Ohio, when he receiving other expresses from the Spanish Comm'dts and myself, luckily joined me at Cohos, time enough to save the country from Impending ruin, as the Enimy appeared in great force within twenty four hours after his arrival. finding that they were likely to be disapointed in their Design, they retired after doing some mischief on the Span'h Shore, which would have prevented, if unfortunately the the high wind had not prevented the signals being heard. in a few days a number of prisoners and Disarters left the Enimy Confirming a report that a body of near thousand English and Indian Troops ware on their march to the Kentucky Country with a Train of artillery, and the Genl: knowing the Situation of that Country appeared to be alarmed and resolved to attempt to Get there previous to their arrival. at the same time he Thought it necessary that they Enimy was retreating up the Illinois River, should be pursued so as to atact their Towns about the time the might have been disbanded, distress them, convince them that we would retaliate and perhaps prevent their joining the British Emisarys again. previous to my knowledge of the above Resolution I had informed Genl:

Clarke of my Desire of Leave of absence for some time, in order to return to my family. it was then he informed me of his resolution; and that the Publick Interest would not permit of my request being Granted, that I must take command of the Expedition to Rock River, while he would attempt to interrupt the army marching to Kentuckey, and if they got them before him Except the weakened the country too much he would raise an army and atempt to play them the same Game in the Miami country, as he hoped I would go towards Miskelemacknor, and if we Should be Tolerable sucksessfull and the business properly arranged, I might absent myself for four or five months in the fall or winter. after Given me Instructions he left Kohos the forth of June with a small Escort for the mouth of the Ohio on his rout to Kentuckey. I immediately proceeded to the Business I was order'd and march'd three hundred and fifty men to the Lake open on the Illinois River, and from thence to the Rock river, Destroying the Towns and crops proposed, the Enimy not Dareing to fight me as the had so lately Been Disbanded and they could not raise a sufficient force. after returning, takeing every method in my power to regulate business, I was resolved to return home, but after Deliberating some time, was convinced that the Risque by land was Great without a Guard, which our circumstances would not admit off, and that I could posably as soon or sooner return by Water than land. what might also induce me in a great measure to Take my rout by Orleans, was the probability of Recovering some deserters from the Spanish Governor, and put a stop to that pernicious practice, which I in a great measure effected as that Gentlemen appeared willing to comply with any proposition in his power to promote our interest. finding that a passage to Virginia was not expected in a short time, I resolved to Return Emediately, and according to my resolution set

out on the fifteenth of March and returned to my Command the first day of May, 1781. the want of provisions obliged us to Evacuate Fort Jefferson the Eight of June & the Genl interest required my attention at the falls of the Ohio, when I arrived the second of July a few days before Genl: Clark. on my return from New Orleans, I was alarmed to find by some letters for Genl: Clark seting forth many allagations and Instructions in consequence to the Comd's of Fort Jefferson. I was Emediately convinced that some malicious person in my absence had made reports much to my prejudice asserting that I had made large purchases pretendedly for the State and appropriated them to my use, which is a palpable falsity, as it is well known that I never attempted anything that could give the least suspicion of such practices. of course these reports have originated from false Malitious persons so Common in the Western Country and so apt to be credited by persons that ought, and would despise them, could the know their charactar. You are sensible how fond some perticular classes of people are, of spreading reports prejudicial to others. a low charactor, in the Eastern part of the state, he fits himself out, come to the fronteers, supposes on his rout, that although of an Inferior Class in his own neighborhood will be at least Equal to the first in the Country he is a going to push himself into Company and perhaps Gets kicked out, and Emediately makes a point of Exclaiming, not only for sake of Revenge, but is in hopes that strangers will view him as a man of consequence. but Sirs, you are too well acquainted with the world to make it necessary for me to say anything more on the Subject of such Characters. I flatter myself that you will at least find, that too great credit have been paid to party reports, and that officers zealous in the interest of their Country, that have sacrifised their all for it, have suffered by those very men, who not having virtue enough

to step forth in its Defence, have maid their fortunes under the banner of those officers they wish to Destroy. no person but those that have been witnesses can have a just idea of the adress and Fatigues that it hath required to suport this Department that have been the Salvation of all our frontiers, and saved much blood and Treasure, always Labouring under every Kind of Difficualty, the the want of men, money and provision, and haveing not only to Counteract, the designs of a Powerful savage Tribe, incouraged by British Emissaries and others Equally Dangerous to the State. A duty I owe myself and Country require that I should give you every information in my power which will always give me pleasure, whenever you call on me.

I am Gent. with every sentiment of respect Your very Obedient Servant.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO COLONEL TODD.*

From "Canadian Archives," Series 2, Vol. 17, p. 125.

WILLIAMSBURG, March 19th, 1780.

Sir:—Your Letter from the falls of Ohio, of Dec. 23d, came safely to hand. You mention therein that you have not in a twelvemonth received any Letters from hence, I know not what were written before the 1st of June last, but since that time I have written several to you.

The Expences attending the support of our Troops in the Illinois has obliged us to call them all to the south side of the Ohio, where our paper money is current.

* The originals of this letter and one of the same date written by Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark were intercepted on their way to the West, and sent to Major de Peyster, the British commandant at Detroit. He forwarded them to Gen. Haldimand at Quebec, who acknowledged their receipt July 6, 1780 and forwarded them to the Home Government.—"Canadian Archives, Haldimand Collection."—E. G. M.

Hard money is not to be got here, and we find the difficulty of sending commodities to New Orleans, very great. The Draughts from yourself and Colonel Clarke on Pollock, those presented us by Le Gras and Lintot, others for about 50,000 Dollars presented by a Mr. Nathan from the Havannah, who took them up at New Orleans, being all claimed in hard money or commodities at the hard money price, have rendered us bankrupt there—for we have no means of paying them.

Mr. Brusegard's bill for 30,000 dollars will be on a footing with these. We will accept it. Promise payment, and make it, — — — as soon as we shall be able. We have no bank in France, or any other Foreign Place. There being an absolute necessity of obtaining from New Orleans supplies of clothing and military stores for Colonel Clarke's men, we shall endeavour that our Board of Trade shall send commodities there for that purpose. But to prevent the injury and disgrace of protested bills, we think that in future all bills must be drawn by them, in which case they will take care to make previous provision, for their payment.

I am therefore to desire you hereafter to notify to us your wants, which shall be provided for as far as we are able, by bills from the Board of Trade, sent to you or to New Orleans.

Provisions and all other articles, which our Country affords, will be sent on the south side of the Ohio.

I must beg the favor of you to send me a list of all the bills you have at any time drawn on us, specifying where they are drawn in dollars, whether silver or paper dollars were intended, and if paper, at what rate of depreciation they were estimated; the known price of commodities in hard money or peltry will serve you as a standard to fix the rate of depreciation.

We cheerfully exert ourselves to pay our debts, as far

as they are just, but we are afraid of imposition, for which the rapid progress of depreciation has furnished easy means—yourself alone & Colonel Clarke can guard us against this by timely and full information in what manner your several draughts ought in justice to be paid.

I am sorry you think of resigning your office in the Illinois, the withdrawing our troops from thence will render the presence of a person of established authority more essential than ever.

Your complaints concerning your allowance we think too well grounded and will lay them before the Assembly in May, who we doubt not will remove them, the other objections, I am in hopes you can get over.

It would give us much concern should any necessity oblige you to leave that Country at all, and more especially so early as you speak of. I am Sir, with great esteem your most humble servant. [Signed,] THOS. JEFFERSON.

To Colonel TODD.

[Endorsed:] Copy of a Letter from Mr. Jefferson to Col. Todd, dated at Williamsburg, March 19th, 1780.

In Govr. Haldimand's No. 57.

BRITISH ILLINOIS.

PHILLIPPE FRANÇOIS DE RASTEL, CHEVALIER DE ROCHEBLAVE.

A CERTAIN interest attaches to the name of Rocheblave as that of the last British commandant of the region known a century or more ago as "the Illinois." His official position and his relations to that region during the revolutionary period, upon which his correspondence, preserved in the Canadian archives, sheds much light, seem to render a brief sketch of his life an appropriate introduction to a selection from that correspondence.

Philippe François de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, was born in the village of Savournon in the old province of Dauphiné, now in the department of the High Alps, in the southeast of France.* His father, the seigniorial lord of Savournon, was Jean Joseph de Rastel, Chevalier Marquis de Rocheblave.* The son entered the army as an officer in the French service and was placed upon the half-pay list in 1748.† A desire for active employment and for an opportunity to better his financial condition, it is probable, brought him to Canada in that year.‡ He acquired experience in Indian warfare, and was one of the officers who served under the brilliant partisan Charles de Langlade in 1755,§ when he led his bands of western savages from the country about Lake Michigan to the rendezvous at Fort Duquesne. In the

* Marriage Register, 1763.—Kaskaskia Parish Records.

† Rocheblave to Germaine, Feb. 28, 1778.—"Canadian Archives."

‡ Rocheblave to Haldimand, Oct. 7, 1781.—Haldimand MSS., British Museum. § "Wisconsin Historical Society's Collect'ns," III, 213; VII, 132.

memorable defeat of Braddock which followed, due more to Langlade than to any other man,* Rocheblave distinguished himself and won the praises of his chief.

One incident of that famous campaign, however, does not reflect credit upon the subject of this sketch. After the remnant of Braddock's force had fled, the French and Indians were busily engaged rifling the bodies of the dead which lay thick along the banks of the Monongahela. A young man of Langlade's party, of much enterprise and promise named La Choisie, discovered the body of a richly-dressed English officer, and Rocheblave, almost at the same moment, claimed that he had found it. La Choisie managed first to seize the well-filled purse, of the contents of which Rocheblave stoutly demanded a share, and they parted in no friendly way. The next morning, La Choisie was found assassinated, and the purse of gold was missing. While there was no direct evidence of Rocheblave's guilt, he was strongly suspected of the crime, and its shadow rested upon his name thenceforth.†

It is stated that Rocheblave continued to serve in Langlade's command during most of his subsequent campaigns in the old French war.‡ And he appears to have seen other service as well. In August, 1756, the governor-general of Canada — Vaudreuil — writing to one of the French ministers, says, that Sieur de Rocheblave with another cadet, a corporal, a militiaman, and twenty Shawnee Indians knocked at the gate of a small fort, three leagues beyond Fort Cumberland, where there remained some families and thirty militia. He killed four Englishmen whom the Indians scalped, wounded three, who dragged themselves into the fort, and took three prisoners.§ And in the following year, Vaudreuil writes to the

* "Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections," VII, 132, 133.

† *Ibid*, III, 215; VII, 132. ‡ *Ibid*, III, 213.

§ "New-York Colonial Documents," X, 435.

home government that Rocheblave had returned with a prisoner taken on the banks of "the Potowmak," three days' march from Fort Cumberland.* During these years, Rocheblave seems to have been one of the garrison of Fort Duquesne.

Two years later, he was for a time one of the lieutenants of another "famous French partisan," as he is described by Sir William Johnson, Sieur Marin, who like Langlade was associated with the early history of what is now Wisconsin. In June, 1759, Marin led a party of about three hundred Delaware and Shawnee Indians, with the assistance of Rocheblave and three Canadians, from Fort Niagara "to insult Fort Pitt," as they said. This fortification, then recently erected by Gen. Stanwix upon the ruins of Fort Duquesne, was found to be in a poor condition for defence. It might easily have been captured, had more Frenchman taken part in the expedition, the Indians being of little use in an attack upon a fortified place. But there was no time to send for reinforcements, as the commandant at Fort Niagara suddenly summoned his outlying parties to aid him against the British army under Gen. Prideaux and Sir William Johnson which was advancing to the investment of his position. Marin's command returned with all speed, joining on the way large reinforcements moving to the relief of Fort Niagara. In the battle fought under its walls, Marin shared in the French defeat and was one of the prisoners on that occasion.† Rocheblave had been left with one hundred and fifty men to guard the canoes and bateaux at an island above the Niagara portage. When the fate of the day was decided, the Frenchmen who escaped from the field retired to this place and the whole party proceeded to Detroit.‡ The

* "New-York Colonial Documents," X, 581.

† "Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections," V, 118.

‡ "New-York Colonial Documents," X, 992.

war practically ended with the defeat of Montcalm in 1759, and for a few years thereafter we can not definitely trace Rocheblave.

In 1762, there was in Louisiana an officer of the name among the officials of the French government, and in later times one of the streets in New Orleans was named from this person.* On a map of the Mississippi, made about this period, is marked on the left bank of that river just below the English Turn, not far from New Orleans, "Habitation du Chevalier de Rocheblaüe; anciem^t Le Fort."† After 1762, this officer disappears from the Louisiana records, and it is possible that he is identical with the Illinois Rocheblave, who, in 1763, was placed upon the half-pay list of the French army‡ in recognition, it is presumed, of his efficient services in the old French war.

He probably came to Kaskaskia in the same year and established himself as a trader in that place. Here on April 11, 1763, in the old parish church, he was united in marriage to Michel Marie Dufresne, daughter of Jacques Michel Dufresne, officer of militia of that parish. The original entry with the signature of the parties, the witnesses, and the priest is still preserved in the marriage record at Kaskaskia. And, probably, because Rocheblave was still an officer in the French service, it is recited that written permission for the marriage had been given by Monsieur Neyon de Villiers, major commandant at the Illinois. De Villiers was one of seven famous brothers, six of whom laid down their lives in the service of the French king, and his graceful autograph appears at the foot of the record.§

When the Illinois country was surrendered by France

* Letter of Charles Gayarre, Dec. 24, 1888.

† E. Mease's notes on maps in Pitman's "European Settlements."

‡ Rocheblave to Germaine.—"Canadian Archives."

§ Marriage Register, 1763.—Kaskaskia Parish Records.

to Great Britain in the fall of 1765, Rocheblave, as his opponents say, abandoned his property there, and preferred the Spanish government to the British, taking the oath of allegiance thereto.* At all events, he was in command at Sainte Genevieve on the Spanish side of the Mississippi in 1766, and engaged in certain legal proceedings there.† In the following year, he was still Spanish commandant at the same place and was most tenacious of the rights of his catholic majesty even in ecclesiastical matters. When the good Father Meurin appeared at Sainte Genevieve, acting under the Roman catholic bishop of Quebec, Rocheblave declared "I know no English bishop here, and in a post where I command I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognized except that of the archbishop of St. Domingo." He at once made a decree proscribing Father Meurin, and orders were issued for his arrest as a state criminal for recognizing a jurisdiction not admitted by Spain. A friend warned him of his danger, and he left Sainte Genevieve and crossed the river into British territory.‡

In 1770, Rocheblave became engaged in an altercation with Lieut.-Col. John Wilkins, then commanding for Great Britain in the Illinois country with headquarters at Fort Chartres. The strife between the two commandants waxed hot, and attracted the attention of Gen. Thomas Gage at New York, and of Don Alexandro O'Reilly at New Orleans, the commanders-in-chief in North America for Great Britain and Spain respectively. Rocheblave forwarded his correspondence with Wilkins, and a letter of complaint to his chief, the governor and captain-general for his catholic majesty of the province of Louisiana. He sent all the papers, together with a conciliatory letter and

* Petition to Carleton, April 10, 1777.—Haldimand Papers, "Canadian Archives." † St. Louis City-Records.

‡ Shea's "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," p. 120.

a copy of his orders to the commanders of the several posts within his government intended to prevent the recurrence of such troubles, to the commander of the forces of his Britannic majesty in his American colonies. Gen. Gage replied in the same spirit, and, while he said it was not possible from the letters of Rocheblave and Wilkins to discover the merits of their controversy, he agreed with Don Alexandro in the expediency of putting a stop to these little disputes in the beginning to avoid their increasing to animosities. And in courtly phrase, he expressed his ambition to follow Don Alexandro's example and to obey his commands on all occasions,* the humor of which, under all the circumstances, Don O'Reilly's Irish blood must have enabled him to enjoy. It does not appear what the precise difficulty was, but it is evident that Rocheblave was as prompt to oppose the British, in behalf of Spain, in things temporal, as in things spiritual.

By what process this foe of Great Britain, who as a Frenchman had fought against her troops, and as a Spaniard had quarreled with her officials, was transformed into a subject of George the Third is a mystery. Nor is it known when the marvellous change took place. It was alleged against him that he never took the oath of allegiance and supremacy required of those who held office under the British crown.† However this may have been, Rocheblave returned to Kaskaskia some time between 1770 and 1776, and posed as a British subject.

Lieut.-Col. John Wilkins was followed in the command of the Illinois by Capt. Hugh Lord, who had at Kaskaskia two companies of regulars and a few artillery-men. Maj.-Gen. Haldimand, who succeeded Gage in command at New York in June, 1773, was rather in favor of keeping these troops in the Illinois country. But Gen. Gage,

* Gage to O'Reilly, May 16, 1770.—Haldimand Papers.

† Petition to Carleton.—*Supra.*

who resumed command on his arrival at Boston in May, 1774, feared, as the troubles with the colonies began to increase, that the detachment might be cut off and was inclined to order it eastward. Various circumstances prevented the accomplishment of this design until Sir Guy Carlton, the commander-in-chief in Canada, in whose jurisdiction the Illinois country was included, determined to carry it out. And after the disasters to the royal arms in 1775, when the soldiers of the colonies invaded Canada, he issued the necessary orders.*

In the spring of 1776, Capt. Lord and his men departed to join the British forces by the way of Detroit and the lakes.† He was instructed to entrust the administration of affairs to such person as he judged proper. He selected Rocheblave as his successor, and it is a proof of his confidence in him that he left his own family in Rocheblave's charge, and four years thereafter they were still with Madame Rocheblave.‡ Carleton wrote Hamilton, the British lieutenant-governor at Detroit, that the troops were withdrawn from the Illinois to avoid unnecessary expense, and that a salary of £200 per year had been granted Rocheblave to have an eye to the king's interests in those parts, and to advise the government of whatever might be carrying on there against them, and that his appointment was deemed to have commenced May 1, 1776.§ And he wrote Lord George Germaine, the secretary of war, that he had employed Rocheblave to have an eye on the proceedings of the Spaniards and the management of the Indians on that side; that his abilities and knowledge of that part of the country recommended him as a fit person; and that he thought such a one necessary since the post which had been held upon the Mississippi had been

* Rocheblave to Germaine, Jan. 22, 1778.—"Canadian Archives."

† Carleton to Hugh Lord, July 19, 1776.—Haldimand Papers.

‡ Madame de Rocheblave to Haldimand.—Haldimand MSS.

§ Carleton to Hamilton, Sept. 15, 1777.—*Ibid.*

withdrawn.* Rocheblave naturally magnified his office, and considered that Capt. Lord had appointed him judge and commander of a vast country, and had in effect instructed him to continue to bestow upon the savages the presents ordinarily given in order to avoid alienating them, and that it was also committed to him to break up the designs and evil intentions of the Spaniards to say nothing of the rebellious colonists. He so informed the home government nearly two years after his appointment.† But however backward he was in advising his superiors of the extent of his authority, he lost no time in impressing it upon the people of the Illinois country. The French inhabitants were speedily taught to address him as commandant of all the British part of the Illinois, and with the most humble respect and submission, as did the residents of Peoria.‡ The British inhabitants were less docile, and complained by petition to Carleton, that Rocheblave trampled upon their liberties, "despised Englishmen and English laws," acted both as counsel and judge, traded with the savages against his own edicts, and was partial to the French.§ If one-half of their allegations were true, he certainly carried matters with a high hand and played the part of a despot.

Still it is but fair to Rocheblave to say, that however unjust to the people, he seems to have been faithful to the government. And notwithstanding his previous, frequent changes of allegiance, he served the British crown during his stay at the Illinois with a zeal and persistence which obtained from his superior officers a quasi-recognition of his right to the positions he claimed. Even Sir Guy Carleton who so carefully limited his authority at the outset, a

* Carleton to Germaine, Aug. 13, 1777.—"Canadian Archives."

† Rocheblave to Germaine, Jan. 22, 1778.—*Supra.*

‡ Inhabitants of Peoria to Rocheblave.—*Supra.*

§ Petition to Carleton.—*Supra.*

few months later promised him an order authorizing him to call out the militia, which practically made him commandant,* and apparently paid no attention to the complaints against him. The home government made no objection to his assuming the title he coveted, and Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton as governor of Canada, June 30, 1778, and with whom Rocheblave carried on an extensive correspondence after the capture of Fort Gage, always treated him as the former commandant at the Illinois, and in fact paid him his salary as such officer until some time in 1783,† and also his expenses in that office.† Certainly he was untiring in his efforts to obtain information concerning the schemes of the Spaniards and colonists, and nothing pleased him better than to hold a solemn examination in the audience room of Fort Gage at Kaskaskia, usually at five o'clock in the morning, of some trader returning from a winter visit to a tribe with which the Spaniards at St. Louis had been tampering, or some refugee from the colonies bringing cheering but delusive tales of their probable return to their allegiance; and to send off an express with the depositions of such witnesses duly signed, sealed, witnessed and verified upon oath, to Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton at Detroit, or Sir Guy Carleton at Montreal. He was really, as he himself says, left in charge of a great province without troops, without money, and without resources.‡ And he accomplished much with very little means. His services were especially valuable in regard to the Indians among whom his military experience and long association with them as a French partisan gave him influence, and he kept the tribes in his neighborhood quiet, and the routes of the Ohio and Mississippi open for a considerable time by his personal efforts alone.

* Carleton to Rocheblave, Oct. 28, 1776.—Haldimand Papers.

† Haldimand Papers.

‡ Rocheblave to Germaine, Feb. 28, 1778.—*Supra.*

In fact, he decidedly preferred this kind of occupation; and this feeling, together with the lack of harmony between himself and the British traders at Kaskaskia, induced him to earnestly entreat that an English lieutenant-governor might be sent to take his place, and he be detailed to take charge of Indian affairs.* He was equally anxious that at least a few troops should be sent to protect the country, the importance of which he seemed to realize far more than any one else in the British service, except perhaps Gen. Haldimand who, had he succeeded Carleton in time, would probably have granted this request. For after Clark's successful expedition, Haldimand expressed the opinion that had the two companies of regulars which he left at the Illinois when he commanded in New York, been left there they would have assured possession of the country and prevented subsequent consequences.† Rocheblave insisted, but to deaf ears, that the Illinois country if better known, would be one of the richest colonies which his majesty possessed, and that it would soon become the centre of communication between the colonists and the Spaniards by the way of the Beautiful River.‡ Carleton wrote Hamilton that it would be impracticable to send any troops to Rocheblave§ and none were ever sent him.

But it was the financial rock upon which he split. Notwithstanding Carleton's strict limitation of his allowances to £200 a year and the cost of his expenses,‖ Rocheblave could not reconcile this petty sum with the dignity of his office, and came to grief accordingly. His expenditures may not have been altogether upon government account,

* Rocheblave to Hamilton, May 8, 1777.—"Canadian Archives."

† Haldimand to de Budé (?), June 17, 1779.—Haldimand Papers.

‡ Rocheblave to Germaine, Jan. 22, 1778.—*Supra.*

§ Carleton to Hamilton, May 16, 1777.—*Supra.*

‖ *Ibid*, Sept. 15, 1777.—*Supra.*

but doubtless in part they were, and his surprise and grief at the non-payment of his modest drafts for twelve and thirteen hundred pounds are almost pathetic, albeit somewhat humorous. Carleton had notified him in May, 1777, that he must not incur any further expense, but could draw for his salary only which was all that Hamilton was authorized to accept, but he paid no attention to this.* Then finding that he could extract nothing from Hamilton or Carleton, he addresses himself directly to Lord George Germaine at Whitehall, and assures him that his expenditures have always savored more of the niggardliness of a private individual than what could have been expected from a great power like Great Britain; that he did receive orders to incur no more expense upon government account, but the absolute necessity of his work had obliged him to continue it on his own account, expecting of course to be reimbursed.† This producing no effect, he applies again to Sir Guy Carleton, who is told that it grieves Rocheblave to the heart to speak on the subject of finance, but he is persuaded that the goodness of Carleton's heart will not permit him to refuse the payment of Rocheblave's rejected drafts, and that he has strongly felt that the honor of the nation would not permit his fanaticism of zeal to be costly to him, nor that he should become the sport of his neighbors and savages. And while he confesses that he has persuaded the commandant at Vincennes to carry part of Rocheblave's expenditures in his account, he says he forced himself to this kind of deceit which the crisis alone could justify and that it troubles him all the more because it is foreign to his character.‡

The government was obdurate, but with undiminished cheerfulness and energy, he continued to raise the warn-

* Carleton to Hamilton, May 16, 1777.—Haldimand Papers.

† Rocheblave to Germaine, Jan. 22, 1778.—*Supra.*

‡ Rocheblave to Carleton, Feb. 18, 1778.—*Supra.*

ing voice of one crying in the wilderness against the early expeditions of the colonists along the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans to obtain supplies from the Spaniards, and the danger which these threatened to the Illinois posts. The daring young continental captain, James Willing, descended the Ohio from Fort Pitt, with an armed vessel and forty soldiers, captured fur-traders going to deal with the Indians under British permits, officers of militia with Rocheblave's own pass, took bateaux and cargoes in British waters, and nearly caught Rocheblave himself as he returned from a visit to Lieut.-Gov. Abbott at Vincennes. Willing went on his way to attack the British settlements on the lower Mississippi; and Rocheblave duly reported every account and rumor concerning him, giving them the darkest possible coloring, and again and again begged for the troops which such expeditions proved to be essential to the preservation of the Western country.*

It was all in vain, his requests for soldiers were unheeded, his accounts for expenditures more or less in the public service were disallowed, and his drafts on the government representatives whether at Detroit or in Canada, went to protest. But his busy pen was still at work, and when the eventful July 4, 1778, arrived, he was corresponding as briskly as ever. He was true to his financial record to the last, for he made one more draft, and that for over $1200 and on the government treasurer at Quebec;† calmly oblivious of the repeated injunctions of his superior officers that he should draw on Detroit only, and for no more than his annual salary. He accompanied this bill of exchange with a letter to the treasurer praying that it

* Rocheblave to Abbott, June 20, 1778. Rocheblave to Carleton, July 4, 1778.—Haldimand Papers.

† Rocheblave to Thomas Dunn, treasurer, Quebec, Bill of Exchange, July 4, 1778.—*Ibid.*

might be honored, and mentioning that the uncertainty in which he was as to whether his preceding draft had been paid, had occasioned him an increase of expense. And he frankly stated that the doings of the Spaniards with the Americans required that he should do even more than before, presumably in the financial line, if his services were to be of any use to the country. These, however, he offered freely.* And on the same day, the very last of his command at the Illinois, he dispatched a long communication to Sir Guy Carleton, containing the latest news of the rebel marauders along the Mississippi, earnestly soliciting the immediate sending of a body of troops to the Illinois, and asserting that all his alarms were about to be realized and that they were upon the eve of seeing there a numerous band of brigands. And he pathetically implored the governor to order the treasurer to pay his latest draft, he being overcome with demands. And apparently having exhausted all other arguments, he begged for assistance as the father of a family in pecuniary difficulties.†

Before the next sunrise, George Rogers Clark and his men were in possession of the old Jesuit mansion which did duty for a fort at Kaskaskia, and the hapless Rocheblave was a prisoner of war. The band of brigands had arrived, not those under the command of James Willing whose coming he had for some time predicted and dreaded, but another force under another leader whose approach he does not seem to have suspected. According to the popular account, Rocheblave was captured in his bed.‡ Clark only says that with one division of his little army he broke into the fort and secured the governor, Mr. Rocheblave.§ It has been also stated that the wife of the gov-

* Rocheblave to Thos. Dunn, July 4, 1778.—Haldimand Papers.

† Rocheblave to Carleton, July 4, 1778.—*Ibid.*

‡ Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., p. 95.

§ "Clark's Campaign in the Illinois," p. 31.

ernor concealed the public papers in her husband's charge, and that, as Gov. Reynolds puts it, "the gentlemanly bearing of Col. Clark made him respect female prerogative, and the lady secured the papers in that adroit manner peculiar to female sagacity."* One of Clark's lieutenants, however, Capt. Bowman, wrote to a friend shortly after the capture, that they had all of Rocheblave's instructions from the several governors at Detroit, Quebec, etc., to do various things, for which he received a salary of £200 a year.† It is evident, therefore, that a part of Rocheblave's correspondence and at any rate some of the letters from Carleton on the subject of his annual compensation fell into Clark's hands.

Rocheblave's letter to Carleton, announcing the arrival of Clark and his men, is a pathetic epistle. It was written August 3, 1778, or nearly a month after his capture, when he appears to have still been a prisoner at Fort Gage. He tells what he would have done had he been supported or could aid have reached him from Vincennes, begs that his last draft may be paid, asks help for his family and Capt. Lord's, and urges his own exchange. He says his prison is worse than anything in Algiers, and that he is to depart the next day "for the congress," although quite ill.

Clark sent those of his men whom he could not persuade to reënlist to carry letters to Gov. Patrick Henry at Williamsburg and with them went Rocheblave across the Alleghanies in custody.‡ In this detachment was Levi Todd, brother of John Todd the first governor of the Illinois county under Virginia.§ In the following spring, Rocheblave was joined by his former correspondent Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton of Detroit, whom, after the capture of

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., p. 95.

† Bowman to Hite, July 30, 1778.—Almon's "Remembrancer," 1779, p. 82.

‡ "Clark's Campaign in the Illinois," p. 37.

§ Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., p. 143 n.

Vincennes, Clark also sent to Williamsburg as a prisoner. Hamilton was closely confined and placed in irons for his cruel treatment of captives and his connection with Indian outrages. Rocheblave appears to have had the freedom of the town on parole.* While here, according to his own account, it was proposed to him to return to the Illinois to govern that country in the name of congress with the titles of governor, superintendent of the Indians and colonel, and that all he had lost there should be made good to him. And he represents that when he resolutely withstood these flattering temptations, the governor and council of Virginia asked the French Marquis de Vaudreuil, commander of a ship of seventy-four guns which was lying in Virginia waters, to transport him to France or the West Indies as a traitor to his native country. The marquis sent an officer ashore whom Rocheblave went to meet with the county lieutenant, but no parole to return to the town was exacted of him. The officer threatened to send him to France or the islands but Rocheblave says he told him that the king of France having abandoned him after the last peace, he had become a British subject and that the king could exercise no jurisdiction over him. And that the council, seeing that the French officer had not succeeded sent him a parole to sign, which he evaded by pretending to be sick, and made his escape.* Thomas Jefferson gives a different account, for in writing to Gen. Washington from Richmond in September, 1778, he said Lieut.-Gov. Rocheblave had broken his parole and gone to New York, and that the authorities of Virginia would shortly trouble the commander-in-chief to demand the return of the lieutenant-governor as soon as they could forward the necessary papers.†

* Madame de Rocheblave to Haldimand; Rocheblave to Haldimand, Oct. 9, 1780.—Haldimand Papers. Jefferson's "Writings," I, 258.

† Jefferson's "Writings," *supra*.

However this may have been, Rocheblave arrived in New York in July, 1780, in company with Schieffelin, lieutenant of Detroit volunteers, who had been taken prisoner with Hamilton, and had also made his escape. In October of that year, Rocheblave wrote Haldimand at length, setting forth his desire to raise some volunteers to chase the rebels from the region of the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Wabash, forwarding all the bad news concerning the colonists he could hear or imagine, modestly calling attention to the fact that his letters to Carleton would show that he had predicted all that had happened in the West, months before its occurrence, and entreating some aid for his own family and that of Maj. Hugh Lord, whom he said the brigands had deprived of the last morsel of bread.* With characteristic assurance, he followed this some ten days later with a plan for carrying on the war, entering into minute details.† In December, 1780, he wrote again from New York to Haldimand, asking that his pay might be sent to his wife, and, faithful to his charge, he asks for aid also for Hugh Lord's family.‡

Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton was exchanged March 4, 1781, and wrote to Haldimand three days later to inform him of that fact, and incidentally mentioned that Rocheblave was still in New York waiting for a convoy to Quebec.§ This he seems to have obtained in the fall of that year,‖ as we find him at Quebec on Oct. 7, 1781, addressing a memorial to Haldimand on the advantage of occupying the Illinois country, and merely mentioning that Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, to whose judgment it was proposed to refer the project, was aware of the superior knowledge

* Rocheblave to Haldimand.—Haldimand Papers.

† Rocheblave's Plan, Oct. 20, 1780.—*Ibid.*

‡ Rocheblave to Haldimand, Dec. 12, 1780.—*Ibid.*

§ Hamilton to Haldimand, May 7, 1781.—*Ibid.*

‖ Haldimand to Hamilton, Oct. 23, 1781.—*Ibid.*

of Rocheblave to whose department such a question belonged.* In February, 1782, he applied for a passport to Detroit and a recommendation in his favor, and for leave to send an express to his wife,† and in March, his importunity obtained from the government a warrant for disbursements as commandant at the Illinois.‡ Notwithstanding this however, he again recalled his services to the much enduring Haldimand, suggested that his warnings, which might have saved Cornwallis, had only been laughed at, and proposing to secure the Illinois country, and with the aid of Germans and Acadians from Virginia and Maryland, to arrange the neutrality of Kentucky and the Indians at a trifling expense. But, if this comprehensive proposition was not entertained, he asked for a passport and a circular letter to the commanders of the posts, where he might desire to trade, and last, not least, for the reimbursement of his losses.§ Haldimand evidently thought the most economical plan, and the one promising the most respite for himself, was to permit this persistent individual to engage in trade. And he accordingly gave him letters to Maj. de Peyster at Mackinac, who was informed that Rocheblave had been continued on pay and was to be employed as found useful, and that he had been allowed to take up a small cargo of goods which was not to pay freight on the lakes.‖ But before he set out on this expedition, Rocheblave sent from Quebec, Aug. 31, 1782, another petition praying for the payment of his salary and the expenditures incurred during his long captivity,¶ and his salary as commandant was granted him.** The peace which Haldimand thus secured

* Rocheblave to Haldimand, Oct. 7, 1781.—Haldimand MSS.

† *Ibid*, Feb. 17, 1782. § *Ibid*, March 22, 1782.—Haldimand Papers.

‡ Warrant to Philip de Rocheblave, March, 1782.—*Ibid.*

‖ Haldimand to Peyster, April 28, 1782.—*Ibid.*

¶ Rocheblave to Haldimand, August 31, 1782.—*Ibid.*

** Warrant to Philip de Rocheblave, October, 1782.—*Ibid.*

for himself was not of long duration, for Rocheblave seems to have been unable to resist the temptation while at Mackinac of engaging in his former pastime of making drafts on government account. And Haldimand was obliged to write him with some sternness, regretting that Rocheblave had been interested in bills drawn from Mackinac, contrary to orders, as they must be allowed to go to protest.*

Perhaps because of the unfortunate outcome of this attempt to resume business, Rocheblave soon after departed for the Illinois, and doubtless revisited his old home at Kaskaskia in the winter of 1782–3. Maj. de Peyster, then commanding at Detroit, advised Haldimand of this, and asked what was to be done if Rocheblave returned or drew for back pay.† Haldimand replied that Rocheblave had been drawing money for salary from Quebec, and his pay was to be continued from there,‡ and in March, 1783, another warrant to Philip Rocheblave for his salary as commandant at the Illinois was duly issued.§ And in the same month, Rocheblave, who had returned to Quebec, confidently submitted to Haldimand a plan for uniting and strengthening the parts of America left in British possession taking in all the territory formerly owned by France, including the Mississippi, New Orleans, etc.‖ He took the opportunity, however, to request a settlement of his claims for losses and expenditures during captivity;¶ and also addressed Haldimand's secretary, Capt. Mathews on the subject.**

Rocheblave apparently had regained the favor of Haldimand, who cheerfully granted him a pass for two bat-

* Haldimand to Rocheblave, Nov. 2, 1782.—Haldimand Papers.

† Peyster to Haldimand, Jan. 7, 1783.—*Ibid.*

‡ Haldimand to Peyster, March 12, 1783.—*Ibid.*

§ Warrant to Philip de Rocheblave, March, 1783.—*Ibid.*

‖ Rocheblave to Haldimand, Mch. 11, 1783. ¶ *Ibid*, Apr. 7, 1783.—*Ibid.*

** Rocheblave to Mathews, Apr. 7, 1783.—*Ibid.*

teaux for another trading expedition, but declined to discriminate in his behalf in the Mackinac business.* This favor was gratefully acknowledged to the secretary by the recipient who announced his intention to try to go to the point which he was at before the unhappy affair at Mackinac, which he promised to long remember, and well observed that for a man of his age not to go forward was to go back, and with unwonted consideration, said he would refrain from fatiguing Haldimand with a letter.† Within a fortnight, however, he sent him a plan for settling the upper country with loyalists, Germans, and Acadians, so as to secure the territory on the Mississippi to the British.‡ Haldimand had to promise to do all in his power to support Rocheblave's endeavors to recover his losses;§ and in the fall of 1783, rumors reached Canada that an act of parliament had been passed to indemnify the loyalists for their sacrifices. Rocheblave promptly sent in his claims again, and was hardly satisfied with the decision to wait until the act officially reached Quebec. He wished his demands established immediately because he said he had to go from Quebec and "find Madame Rocheblave and the rest of the family at Chikagou," and settle all affairs in the upper country before possession was given to the Americans.‖ He seems to have remained at Quebec during the following year, as, in January, 1784, he besought the government to give him a situation; in March, he asked for a passport and circular letter to the different posts and for an advance of cloth and powder and a grant of lands on the river Rideau; and in April, sent in a formal memorial designating the one-thousand-acre tract of land of which he would like a grant to hold

* Mathews to Rocheblave, April 10, 1783.—Haldimand Papers.

† Rocheblave to Mathews, April 17, 1783.—*Ibid.*

‡ Rocheblave to Haldimand, April 28, 1783.—*Ibid.*

§ Mathews to Rocheblave, Oct. 22, 1783.—*Ibid.*

‖ Rocheblave to Haldimand, Nov. 6, 1783.—*Ibid.*

under the crown.* Haldimand sent him a letter of recommendation to enable him to forward his goods to the upper country, but he still applied for assistance; his wife reinforced him with an impressive letter stating their distressed condition owing to the refusal to pay her husband the money laid out for the government of the Illinois and praying for justice; and Rocheblave begged for permission to at least acquire some land from the Indians, until finally Haldimand succumbed and ordered the laying out of one thousand acres of land for Philip Rocheblave on the Grand Isle near Cataraqui or other part in that neighborhood which was ungranted.†

The year 1785, found Rocheblave still at Quebec, whence he wrote Haldimand at London complaining that after all his services, he had received no indemnity for losses such as had been granted to every refugee loyalist, that he had even been deprived of rations, and that this had a bad effect on the Canadians.‡ It would seem seem that about this time, Rocheblave began to turn his attention to increasing disaffection among the subjects of Great Britain in Canada. More than one of Haldimand's correspondents informed him concerning the treasonable expressions and doubtful conduct of the once loyal commandant at the Illinois.§ Secretary Mathews wrote to Rocheblave's predecessor, the now Major Lord, desiring information concerning his successor's conduct at the Illinois, as his behavior since Haldimand's departure had been such as to justify suspicion of his ostensible character, he having been very active in stirring up discontent among the Canadians.‖ And in the

* Rocheblave to Haldimand, Jan. 3, Mch. 7, Apr. 12, 1784.—Hald. Papers.

† Haldimand to Rocheblave, Mch. 26; Rocheblave to Haldimand, Oct. 16; Marie de Rocheblave to Haldimand, Nov.; Rocheblave to Haldimand, Nov. 2; Haldimand to Holland, Nov. 4, 1784.—*Ibid.*

‡ Rocheblave to Haldiman, Jan. 21, 1785.—*Ibid.*

§ Rouband to Haldimand, Mch. 20; Baby to Haldimand, June 4, 1785.

‖ Mathews to Maj. Lord, Aug. 25, 1785.—*Ibid.*

fall of 1786, Mathews wrote from Quebec to Haldimand in London revealing, what he called, the odious character of Rocheblave, and commenting sarcastically upon his assurance.* With this faint praise, the name of Rocheblave disappears from the British archives.

Among the papers of Pierre Menard in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society is a copy of a document executed at Kaskaskia, July 29, 1801, certified to be correct by Ph. Rocheblave.† And in a report of commissioners on land claims in the district of Kaskaskia, dated Dec. 31, 1809, Philip Rocheblave is stated to be the then present claimant of a tract of land, which claim was rejected by the commissioners.‡ It is uncertain, however, whether the person mentioned in this document and in this report is the former commandant or a son of the same name. Of Rocheblave's family very little is known. His wife, from her letters to Gen. Haldimand, seems to have been a woman of force and education. Patrick Henry gave express instructions to John Todd, and to George Rogers Clark that she should be well treated, and her property restored or that she should be recompensed therefor.§ Augustin Grignon says he knew two of Rocheblave's nephews, Pierre and Noel de Rocheblave, both engaged in the Indian trade, and that Pierre became first a clerk and then a member of the Northwestern Fur-Company.‖ He is said to have been one of the most important personages in this company, and to have had a seat in the old legislative assembly at Quebec.¶

No other noteworthy mention of the name of Rocheblave has been found in the annals of the West. He was

* Mathews to Haldimand, Sept. 7, Nov. 9, 1786.—Haldimand Papers.

† Chicago Historical Society's Autograph Letters, Vol. 61, p. 399.

‡ "American State Papers; Public Lands," II, 130.

§ Henry to Todd.—John Todd's Record-Book, Chicago Historical Society. Henry to Clark.—"Calendar of Virginia State-Papers."

‖ "Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections," III, 215. ¶ *Ibid*, VII, 133.

not an altogether admirable character, and his feat of changing allegiance three and perhaps four times within a space of twenty years redounds more to his versatility than his consistency. But his eventful and curious life has a romantic interest of its own, and illustrates vividly the transitions through which the Western country passed during the revolutionary period. And his name marks an epoch, and will always have a kind of prominence as that of the last official representative of monarchical institutions upon the soil of Illinois. E. G. M.

ROCHEBLAVE PAPERS.

SIR GUY CARLETON TO ROCHEBLAVE.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, B. 39, p. 242.

CROWN POINT, 28th October, 1776.

Sir:—I have just received your letter of September 14th, with the interesting intelligence which you therein communicate to me. I can but approve the zeal which you show for the interests of the King of whom you have become a subject, and to whom, by the proof you have just given, as well as by the favorable report which has been made to me concerning you, I do not doubt that you will render good service. I hope by your skill to find the means of defeating the designs of the rebels, of which you inform me. I submit to you whether you should not make every possible effort to engage the savages of the Beautiful River to aid you.

I will send you as soon as possible the necessary order to authorize you to call out the militia; in the meantime to recompense the trouble which you may have in the performance of your duty, you can draw bills of exchange upon the Treasurer of the Province, Mr. Dunn, at Quebec, for the amount of your expenses in the work of which you have charge, to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling per year, beginning from the day of the departure of Captain Lord* from your post, until further order.

* Hugh Lord attained the rank of captain in the British army, Dec. 25, 1762, was assigned Feb 5, 1770, to the 18th Royal regiment of Ireland, and was ranking captain in 1776.—R. G. Thwaite's examination of British-Army Lists. He commanded a detachment of soldiers stationed at Kaskaskia, while Lieut.-Col. John Wilkins of the same regiment was commandant

We have taken, burned and destroyed the greater part of the rebel fleet upon Lake Champlain, three sail only, out of the fifteen which they had, having escaped. The Rebels upon this event, set fire to all the houses and all the ships at this place, and fell back hastily upon Fort Carillon, but the bad weather which is coming on, prevents us from pursuing them this year, and we shall be soon obliged to re-take the route to Canada for our winter quarters.

M. ROCHEBLAVE.

RICHARD MC CARTY TO ROCHEBLAVE.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, b. 122, p. 6.

Second letter, important business.

Sir:—I have the honor to wish you good day, and to present my respects to Madame de Rocheblave, and courtesies to Mademoiselle Pazet and friendship to all the family, to which I would render any service in my power here; I wish to make use of you to do this.

I was ill at the departure of Mr. Charleville, and so I was not able to appear to present my defence. Mr. Levy has been himself to the house of Mr. Cecil to tell him that our society was separated and dispersed at the time

at the Illinois. Wilkins' term of office ended March 30, 1772, and he was temporarily succeeded by acting-Maj. Robert Hamilton of the same regiment who had been stationed at Fort Pitt. On June 11, 1772, Hamilton was relieved by Capt. Lord, who remained in command of the Illinois, having two companies from his own regiment and three men from the Royal artillery under his charge there, until May 1, 1776, when he and his men were recalled to Canada.—Haldimand Papers. In 1779, he was major of the 75th foot, or Prince of Wales' Own, with commission dated May 30, 1778, and in 1783, was a major on half-pay. Dec. 25, 1802, he was appointed major with full pay in the 7th Royal regiment, garrison battalion, and in 1807, was a major commanding the garrison of the Island of Jersey and the last mention of him in the army lists is in 1829, which probably was the year of his decease.—R. G. Thwaite, *supra*. E. G. M.

of the circular, but in time and place I will furnish my reply to the petition presented to you.

I write you a letter concerning the news which without doubt you have heard spoken of. It appears that some one has given aid to the other shore. The news began to be forgotten, and was hardly spoken of, when the two Englishmen arrived at St. Louis. They disappeared as they came without the knowledge of any one.

I have sent a mortgage which will be presented to you by Mr. Kennedy to be registered according to the custom and law here which I imagine will settle all proceedings against me on this subject.

I sent to fetch an Englishman who was said to be at Misere* a man very expert in the building of mills. I pray you to have the goodness to give every assistance in your power, so that we can have this as soon as possible.

There have been, they say, two Frenchman killed near St. Joseph while coming from Detroit, and by the Pottawatamies. Also Mr. Chartranc had a finger cut off by the Renards. Four traders have abondoned their house, and all their effects in the country along the river of the Illinois.

By the report of Boison which they have had at St. Louis during the winter, both the Pottawatomies and the Renards say that they wish St. Joseph ravaged and destroyed. There is nothing but war on every side. Do me the honor to give me the news which you have Sir, with all the respect and esteem possible, your very humble and very obedient servant. RICHARD MC CARTY.†

KAHOS, 6 fevr., 1777.

[Endorsed:] Letter from Richard McCarty to M. Rocheblave, dated Kahos, 6 Fevr., 1777.

* A nickname for Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

† Richard McCarty—see note, page 297, *supra*—wrote from St. Ursule at the Illinois, which seems to have been another name for Cahokia, on June 7, 1778, to a correspondent at Mackinac, sending the latest information to Maj.

PETITION TO CARLETON CONCERNING ROCHEBLAVE.

From "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, Series B., Vol. 185, 1, p. 2.

Illinois, *sst.* To His Excellency General Carlton, Governor of the Province at Canada, etc., etc., etc., residing at Quebec.

The petition of Daniel Murray* Agent for the contractors, Patrick Kennedy† and Thomas Bentley, all of the

de Peyster and expressing the pious hope that God would soon send the wished-for news of a union with England and her colonies. Put in April of the following year, he wrote to his wife at Montreal that he had become a captain in the Illinois battalion and *aide-de-camp* of the commander-in-chief of the department of the West. And on July 12, 1781, Maj. de Peyster, then British commandant at Detroit, wrote to Gen. Powell that the Wea Indians had entered heartily into their cause, and had lately attacked a party of rebels and Indians, under Capt. Richard McCarty, near the Wabash, and had killed McCarty with some of his people. Maj. de Peyster added that he had all of McCarty's papers, but they gave no information other than that McCarty and all the inhabitants of the Illinois were heartily tired of the Virginians.—McCarty to Askin, McCarty to Mrs. McCarty, Maj. de Peyster to Powell; "Canadian Archives."—E. G. M.

* Daniel Murray and his brother William, of London, England, were traders residing in the Illinois country before the Revolution. Wm. Murray negotiated, in 1773 and 1775, extensive purchases of lands from the Indians upon which were based the persistent claims of the Illinois and Wabash companies to a large part of the present states of Illinois and Indiana, finally rejected by congress in the early part of the present century. Wm. Murray was a member of both companies, and Daniel of the Wabash company; and the contractors, for whom he was agent, were those contracting with the British government to furnish provisions to the Western posts. Wm. Murray left the Illinois in 1776, and Daniel remained in charge of his brother's affairs. When Clark arrived, Daniel Murray took service under him as quartermaster and commissary, and supplied large quantities of provisions and merchandise to Clark and to Montgomery. When the Virginia troops were withdrawn, Murray was obliged to leave the country, descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, and was captured by the British on his sea voyage to Virginia and taken to New York as a prisoner. In December, 1781, he addressed a memorial to the Virginia delegates in congress at Philadelphia, praying them to save him and his brother from ruin by prevailing on their State to pay the bills of exchange drawn in their favor by Col. Montgomery for supplies furnished.—E. G. M.

† Patrick Kennedy was a trader doing business at Kaskaskia under British

Village of Kaskaskias in the County of the aforesaid Merchants, humbly showeth,

That since Captain Hugh Lord's departure from this country and Mr. De Rocheblave's being vested with the Government, We your humble petitioners and His Majesty's most faithful subjects, find to our most bitter grief our liberties trampled upon & common justice in almost all cases refused to us, that on our presuming to remonstrate against such injustice the said Mr. De Rocheblave will not listen to us, informing us that such are the laws of France which he orders us to follow telling us he knows no other, refusing the English laws proclaimed here by Colonel John Wilkins and hitherto followed by his successors to the command, that we being the only English merchants or inhabitants in this place we take the liberty to represent to you our unhappy situation, and lay our grievances before you, hoping from you a speedy and immediate Redresse for without such 'twill be impossible for an Englishman to remain in this Country as the said Mr. De Rocheblave is daily imposing upon us by refusing the appointment of our suits & denying us the justice which by Law & Equity we have a right to demand at his hands both for the security of our property as well as our persons, neither of which we look upon to be safe under his Government, as Englishmen & English Laws to our great mortification are despised by the public in general & appear to be so by the said Mr. De

rule, and at one time was in partnership there with Richard Winston. In July, 1773, he undertook an expedition with several *coureurs de bois* from Kaskaskia to the headwaters of the Illinois River in search of a copper mine. He explored the stream to an island, about fifteen miles below the juncture of the Kankakee, finding coal-mines and salt-ponds but no trace of the metal he sought for. His journal of this trip gives an interesting account, and one of the earliest in print of the country he passed through. He was one of the claimants under acts of congress giving four hundred acres of land in the district of Kaskaskia to heads of families who had cultivated land in Illinois prior to and including the year 1788.—E. G. M.

Rocheblave in particular. That with such inhabitants as we happen to have any controversy respecting accounts or Demands unavoidable in business he acts in the first place as council for such against us and afterwards as a judge—He one day decides a matter in our favor and immediately issues out a sentence in favor of the opposite party—That contrary to our wise constitution and to the great detriment of the merchant, he acts in the capacity of a trader, buying and selling goods both wholesale and retail and has been known to make proposals for the purchasing of a cargo (last summer) to a very considerable amount, which he would have effected had his Credit been equivalent thereto.

Public advertisements with respect to property he orders in a most arbritary manner to be torn down which he has been known to do twice in one day. Protest and appeal from his sentence he pays no regard to, seizing notwithstanding of such for the payment agreeable to his sentence refusing undeniable security.

He forbid the trading of liquor to savages under the severe Penalty of two thousand dollars and those very savages notwithstanding such orders being constantly drunk when in the village, upon an enquiry made accused him even to his face of being the person that intoxicated them with Rum or Taffia which they said he barter'd to them for Beaver, Otters, etc.

Such is his partiality in favor of the French that upon approach of savages coming to war against their enemies last spring he sent out a party of men under French colours to know the design of their coming. That such partiality is not to be woudered at when we consider that the said Mr. De Rocheblave on this country being taken possession of by the English abandoned his property here and preferred the Spanish government to ours taking the oath of allegiance thereto.

That 'tis not within the cognizance of any person in the country so far as we can learn that the said Mr. De Rocheblave has ever been qualified by taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy previously necessary towards the holding of such an office.

That abstracted from all manner of prejudice whatever, we do not look upon the said Mr. De Rocheblave from his behaviour at all times and partiality against us on all occasions to be by any means an Englishman's friend having endeavoured to throw aspersions upon the character of some of us without the least foundation (and merely thereby intending to veil his own iniquitous practices) openly countenancing known Villians against us and even encouraging the savages to rob our boats, whose sole motive was trading amongst them in their winter grounds. That Mr. Murray, one of your humble petitioners, acting here as agent for the contractors applied to Mr. De Rocheblave to oblige Mr. Viviat a merchant in this place (who had obtained a certificate from Captain Lord) in the said Murray's name on his the said Captain Lord's leaving this implying that he had already bought provisions sufficient for the subsistence of two companies of soldiers twelve months, to lodge the same according to the said certificate which he hitherto has refused to do and notwithstanding it was farther enforced in consequence of a Lieutenant governor's coming to Post Vincennes who might have occasion for the same yet the same application was of no effect.

We humbly hope that your Excellency will be kind enough to compassionate our situation and grant us such redress and that in the most speedy manner possible as British subjects have a right to expect at the hands of an English governor and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray. T. BENTLEY.*

Dated at Kaskaskias, 10th April, 1777.

* Thomas Bentley was a London merchant having trading-stations in West

DECLARATION OF GABRIEL CERRÉ.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series II, Vol. 14, p. 59.

The year 1777, the 29th of April, at five o'clock in the morning, there appeared before us, Commandant at the Illinois, the undersigned, in the audience room of this fort, Sr. Gabriel Cerré, a merchant of this country whom we had summoned, for the purpose of declaring to us in legal form what he had learned, yesterday evening upon his arrival. And after having received from Sr. Carbonau, clerk, and from Sieur Maisonville, a merchant of Detroit, both here present, the oath to hold and keep secret what in the declaration we are about to receive, presently from the before mentioned Sr. Gabriel Cerré, who after legally taking the oath to tell us the truth as well as to keep

Florida and the Illinois country. He seems to have been the only one of the parties to this petition who dared to sign it, and Rocheblave's vengeance soon fell upon him. In May, 1777, Bentley left Kaskaskia with Rocheblave's passport on a bussiness-trip to Canada. At Mackinac, in July of the same year, he was arrested by Major de Peyster by order of Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, upon the accusation of Rocheblave, that Bentley had given aid to the rebels the year before. He was sent to Detroit and thence to Montreal, where he remained a prisoner without a hearing for more than two years, in spite of his frequent protestations of innocence, demands for a trial, and the intercession of powerful friends in England. During this period his property in the West and South was practically confiscated. At length, in November, 1779, he made his escape and crossed the frontier by the help of an Indian guide, and found his way to Virginia. Here he played the role of a martyr for the colonial cause, and at Williamsburg called on Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, who had imprisoned him and was now himself a prisoner, and offered his services. The following year Bentley was at Post Vincennes and wrote thence to Major de Peyster and to General Haldimand, asserting his loyalty to Great Britain, suggesting methods for the reconquest of the Illinois and giving information concerning the plans of Col. La Balme. Yet in 1781, he appeared at Richmond, Virginia, and presented a claim for compensation, because he had sacrificed his fortunes to support the credit of that state in the Illinois country. His letters to the British and to the American authorities preserved in the Canadian and Virginian archives, and but recently brought to light, are curiously inconsistent, and show quite clearly that he deserved his ill-fortune. Still he managed to persuade George Rogers Clark that he was a faithful friend of liberty, and later established a claim to land at Kaskaskia as a loyal citizen of Virginia.—E. G. M.

secret that which he is about to impart to us, has declared and spoken that which now follows:

That having been among the peorias on the River of the Illinois the above named stated that last winter, having been wintering with the Kickapoos and Mascoutens at a place called the bad land, there arrived there two savages, Kickapoos, and that these went to a person called "fair weather" likewise chief of the said savages of the Village of the Raven on the River of the Illinois, to engage him to send hither those young men in response to my invitation. To which messengers the before mentioned "fair weather" replied that he would not stir, that he had been the winter before at St. Louis to the Spaniards to drink there and see his father, the Spaniard, who had before promised him a medal, a chief's coat, a hat, etc., that the commandant showed him all these articles, but told him he would not give them to him, until the commander sent word, that he thought the time of the arrival of the message from the sea would be about the time of grass, adding that he would not tell him the contents because it was yet a secret known only to him; that the inhabitants of St. Louis (?) were ignorant of it, but that as soon as their father had awakened from his sleepiness he would make known to them, and would be prompt with his word, and would give him then what he had promised, advising them not to mix themselves with the troubles of the bostonians with the english. The Sr. Cerré told us that he knew nothing more, that the declaration contained the truth, and he had nothing to change, add, or take away, and signed with us and our clerk and the Sieur Maisonvil.

Done in duplicate at Fort Gage the year and day above written. Signed, Cerré, Maisonville, Rocheblave, Commandant, and Carbonneau, Clerk.

[Endorsed:] In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 32) of 11th August, 1777.

ROCHEBLAVE TO LIEUT.-GOV. HAMILTON.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series Q, Vol. 14, p. 56.

Signed, ROCHEBLAVE, FORT GAGE, the 8th of May, 1777.

I beg Mr. Abbott to come hither where his presence will dispose of many things, and where he can give orders for the common safety of the two departments. If he comes here, I shall try to induce him to take charge of everything as did Mr. Lord. His presence is more necessary here than at St. Vincent. If I succeed, and if I can be of assistance to him, I will willingly remain with him, if not, I shall see if I can be of use elsewhere.

I was in command formerly in these parts for three years; and had not during that time to decide more than one process a week. At present with fifty men in all, I have during this term put three or four persons in prison, and that was as little as I could do. At present one is obliged every day to imprison young men who demand that if the English law is favorable to them it should be followed; on another occasion the same people will the very next day demand the old French laws which have always been followed. If I were not a little crazed already, I believe they would cause me to become entirely so. If S. C. should judge it proper to employ me on the River of the Illinois where there are only a few Canadians who do not litigate because they own nothing, this river would need some one to watch the savages who so far will not permit the native English to penetrate there, which is an injury to commerce. I think no one can be envious of my lot, and besides I myself am become a savage from constant association with them. I forgot to call your attention to the fact that as soon as I learned of the death of Bartalon, I gave letters of administration as successor to Mr. Cerré, an honest merchant, in order that having liquidated here the said succession, he could take the total

amount to Michilimackinac, or to Montreal according to circumstances. The greater part of the proceeds were under way, when I had the honor of receiving your letter. He had accompanied it himself well in advance to the Illinois River fearing the savages who have killed two men there. He has returned, and is about to remove the rest. I have ordered him to deliver it all to Mr. De Peyster to whom advices will be given. Mr. La Mothe can make application for it to him. What I can not do in a large way, I will do in a small way for the remainder of this succession, your wishes being commands for me.

To day, the eleventh, my letter not having gone on account of the raising of the waters and the continual rain, I have opened it to say that the same propositions have been made to the Saukies and the Foxes on their return from war here upon the Illinois as to the Kickapoos. This afternoon those sent out in advance of the convoy have seen nothing. We have news that it had not been seen as far as eight days travel and more than sixty leagues from here. This causes us anxiety.

[Endorsed:] Copy of a letter from Monsieur Rocheblave to Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton.

In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 32) of 11th August, 1777.

ROCHEBLAVE TO LIEUT.-GOV. ABBOTT.(?)

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series Q, Vol. 14, p. 64.

Signed, ROCHEBLAVE. FORT GAGE, the first of June, 1777.

Sir:—The boats have at last arrived from New Orleans where they were delayed by the loss of the powder taken away from the colonists to the amount of eleven thousand pounds. Thus has been reduced this much vaunted armament. It is true that the old governor according to report loaded a boat intended for the colonists. But the ships of

his majesty got possession of it. All appearances are for a foreign war in the near future.

I have here a party of Delawares, and a collection of Kickapoos, Mascoutens and Pottawatomies from the River of the Illinois. As these three last named nations always make war upon the subjects of Great Britain (the Spaniards having persuaded them so to do) and it being necessary to reassure you as regards that quarter, I have contrived to draw them hither and after some difficulty, all has been well arranged. The war chief of the first mentioned will go to see you. This tribe appears to me to be attached to our interests. They promise to prevent the passage of the colonists in case of any attempt on their part upon the territory. The cannons you ask for will leave to morrow. If I can be of use to you, you can always rely upon me. I have always the honor of insisting upon the advantage of your presence here, for you would then know better your weakness and your resources.

Had circumstances permitted I should already have paid you a visit. They are expecting in the town sixty merchant boats. The French half pay officers who have remained here should be replaced, being in a battalion from which the Spaniards are seeking to recruit their garrison. If the Delawares wish to be of use to you, they and the Kickapoos are the most desirable.

I have the honor to be with the highest consideration, Sir, etc.

[Endorsed:] In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 32) of 11th August, 1777.

ROCHEBLAVE TO LIEUT.-GOV. ABBOTT.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series Q, Vol. 14, page 69.

Sir:—Yesterday evening there arrived a cargo from New Orleans, the owners of which report that the Span-

iards have taken possession of twenty-two English ships in this river, that these had made an attack upon them at sea. They have affirmed this so strongly and in such detail that there can be no doubt of its truth. Thus from whatever cause it may have arisen, reprisals or otherwise, hostilities have begun, and it remains only to decide how we shall come through with it. Shall we make the first move, or shall we permit it to be made. In the first case the advantage will be for us, in the second it will be for our neighbors. If we should get the start of them, we should not see them again very soon; if they should get the start of us, they would stir up much work for us even to the very gates of Canada.

If you wish us to anticipate them, you would do well to send about thirty young men here, and inform me in advance of their coming. I beg you to pay thirty piastres to the express. I am in too much haste to write more at present. I have the honor, &c.,

Signed ROCHEBLAVE.

FORT GAGE, the First July, 1777.

[Endorsed:] Copy of a letter from Mr. Rocheblave, commandant, by appointment of Sir Guy Carleton, at Fort Gage, to Lt.-Gov. Abbot, dated Fort Gage, first of July, 1777.

In Sir Guy Carleton's (No. 33) of 13th Aug., 1777 (2).

SIR GUY CARLETON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

From "Canadian Archives," Series Q, Vol. 14, p. 66.

(No. 33.) QUEBEC, the 13th August, 1777.

My Lord:—I have just received a letter from Lieutenant Governor Abbott enclosing Intelligence which he received from Monsieur Rocheblave and which, together with Mr. Abbott's letter I transmit to your Lordship.

Mr. Rocheblave is a Canadian gentleman, formerly in the French Service, whom I have employed to have an eye on the proceedings of the Spaniards, and the management of the Indians on that side. His abilities and knowledge of that part of the country recommended him to me as a fit person; and I thought such a one necessary, since the Post which had been held upon the Mississippi has been withdrawn.

I likewise enclose you two letters I have received by the same conveyance from Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, from whom I have received at the same time a very voluminous packet; as it contained nothing very material and he is in direct correspondence with your Lordship, I do not think it advisible to detain the Boat Captain Pearson sends in hopes of overtaking the ship which sailed yesterday with another dispatch from me. I am, with all respect My Lord your Lordships most obedient humble servt. GUY CARLETON.

Lord GEORGE GERMAINE.

[Endorsed:] Quebec, 13th August, 1777.
SIR GUY CARLETON. (No. 33.) (2 Inclosures.)

ROCHEBLAVE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series Q, Vol. 15, page 193.

My Lord:—It is nearly two years since the troubles which agitate disastrously North America obliged his Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, to request Captain Hugh Lord, who commanded at the Illinois, to leave there with his garrison in order to be nearer the center and to aid in gathering together all his forces, which as a skillful leader he considered to be too distant. Mr. Lord had orders to leave the administration of affairs to such person as he judged proper.

If there could have been found a more zealous officer who had given many proofs of his capability and of his patriotism, in all probability he would have been given the preference. The commands which he left me in appointing me judge and commander in a vast country were in effect to continue to bestow upon the savages in these trying circumstances the presents ordinarily given in order to avoid alienating them.

I have felt, my Lord, how important it was, during the crisis which has forced the mother country to the most strenuous efforts, to carry the greatest moderation into every expenditure. Mine has always savored more of the niggardliness of a private individual than what should have been expected from a great power such as Great Britain.

It has been necessary for me to break up the designs and evil intentions of our neighbors, the Spaniards, and to dissipate the injurious impression they have sought to give the savages against the present government, in seeking to renew the small degree of inclination they have had for the old, and to give from time to time something to the vast tribes who inhabit our boundless forests.

I do not know, my Lord, what terms to make use of in having the honor of expressing to you the greatness of my surprise at learning that my expenditure for thirteen months which was in the neighborhood of twelve hundred livres sterling has not been allowed. His excellency, Mr. Carleton, in a letter of May last has checked me in every way. Having received his letter and proving to him in July the absolute necessity of continuing my work, I have said that I would suspend matters out of respect to his orders, but am continuing in my own name, subject to the condition of receiving a prompt reply. Thus far I am still waiting. It is by management of this kind my Lord, that Mr. Abbott, lieutenant governor at St. Vincennes, sees

himself today forced to abandon his government, to avoid being a victim of too precipitate a plan of action; and that he runs the risk of having the doors shut upon him for a long time to come by the Indians who have been tampered with by our neighbors. Through him I am deprived of needed aid. In vain should any one continue to decry a country which if better known would be perhaps one of the richest colonies which his Majesty posseses. The efforts made by our jealous neighbors to expel us confirm this assertion. The fear of wearying you my Lord prevents me from writing at greater length, and I close by imploring you to redress my wrongs, and to take into consideration the state of this country, and to permit me to assure you of the respectful consideration with which I have the honor to be my Lord, your very humble and very obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

FORT GAGE of Illinois, the 22nd of January, 1778.

[Endorsed:] At Fort Gage of Illinois, Jan. 22nd, 1778, M. Rocheblave.

INHABITANTS OF PEORIA TO ROCHEBLAVE.

Translation from "Canadian Archives."

Sir:—We the undersigned have the honor to assure you of our most humble respect and submission. All present have been witness to the arrival of your letter addressed to F. Maillet and of your word to be carried by him to the Mascoutin Chiefs. We certify that the said Maillet has shown great zealousness in this matter. Finding some difficulties and some coolness on the part of the savages, owing to the persuasion of the Spanish commander at St. Louis this Spring, he felt obliged to add to your word some further inducement in order to conquer their prejudices and objections which they brought forward, and has joined to this pressing reasons and urgent solici-

tations which he made to them in our prssence to overcome their irresolution. In honor of which, Sir, to assure you that we are with respect and fidelity your very humble and obedient servants.

JYTE TRUTEAU, JOSEPH VENAULT,
LOUIS CHATELLERAULT,
LATEAU HAY, LOUIS JAUNTETOT, EUSTACHE LAMBERT,
JOSEPH VERINAT, AMABLE VAL, BAPTE. CASTERIQUE.

Witness, at the Pées, the 26th January. (?) LIONNAIS.

To Monsieur Rocheblave,
Commandant of all the English part of the Illinois.

[Endorsed:] French letter that came enclosed by Mr. Rocheblave to Mr. Hamilton and transmitted by him to General Carleton in his letter of the 6th August, 1778, marked Detroit No. 7.

EXAMINATION OF HENRY BUTLER BEFORE ROCHEBLAVE, AT FORT GAGE.

Translation from the "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, V. 122, p. 21.

Today the 15th of Feb. 1778, at eight o'clock in the morning there appeared in the audience chamber of this fort upon your order a man named Henry Butler, of Irish origin, having resided for six years in the province of Pennsylvania, to whom after administering the legal oath to speak the truth, we have put to him the following questions. Inquiry firstly, how and when he came to this country.

In reply, he states that he arrived several days ago having seen himself threatened, as had been the case before, with being obliged to take arms in favor of the rebels. He left Fort Pitt three months ago in company with three others. He had embarked with a Mr. Morin,

whom he had met with while hunting upon the beautiful river.

He was asked what was going on at that time at the Fort and in the surrounding provinces.

He replied, that he had heard it said that the troops of the king were spread through the villages in the neighborhood of the said Fort and that their general was at a place called the White Horse.

He was asked if he had heard that Philadelphia had been taken and how?

He answered, that the people of Philadelphia had removed everything which barred the river and had given free entrance to the ships of his majesty.

He was asked if there had been any affair between the troops of the King and the rebel army?

He made answer, that he had heard it said that there had been a battle upon a small river called Schuylskill and that the rebels had lost.

He was asked where Congress was?

In reply, he stated that Congress was at Lancaster at the time he left, but that since it had retired to Carlisle.

He was asked as to whether he had any knowledge of an armament being prepared for this country.

He replied, that he had heard nothing of it before leaving.

He was asked if he knew George Morgan and where he was?

He replied, that he knew him, that Morgan had gone to Philadelphia in search of money to pay for the provisions of the troops of which he was the purveyor, and that he had not returned.

He was asked if he had any further information to give?

He replied, that he had heard it said, that this engagement would take place this spring, that the people inclined for the party of the King and were only kept back by the

oath which had been exacted from every family to the contrary, and added that they had conducted the prisoners taken from the royalist army to a place called Winchester.

He furnished his statement declaring that it contained only the truth, and not knowing how to sign his name he signed thro' his clerk and the witnesses here below.

his
HENRY x BUTLER.
mark

ROCHEBLAVE, Commandant.

PATT KENNEDY, CHARLES GOGIS, CARBONNEAU, Clerk.

And today the 16th of the said month, continuing the same interrogatory which business had obliged us to interrupt. The same Butler after having again taken oath was asked what was the force of the garrison and the name of the commandant?

He replied, that the Brigadier Gen. Hand, formerly doctor to the eighteenth Regiment, commanded there and that there were in the neighborhood of one hundred men in the garrison, the greater part of them deserters from the troops of His Majesty there. The thing has not been clearly explained, they are deserters from the colonies.

He was asked if there was a great number of barges or bateaux prepared?

He replied, that there were in the neighborhood of ninety barges or bateaux already made ready and that they were employed daily in constructing others. There would have been a larger number but that a storm had destroyed seventeen of them.

He was asked if he was acquainted with a person called W. Liny? He replied, no.

He was asked what pay they received?

He answered, that he had received nothing during the three months that he had been at Fort Pitt.

He was asked what the people thought of this on this side of the Apalachians?

He replied, that they had kept quiet until they should have constructed the barges, and that then it was thought that they were for the escape of the chiefs and of congress, and that the people had planned to arrest them if they sought to escape in that direction.

The reading of the declaration having been made to him, he declared that it contained the truth, and that he had nothing to change, augment, or diminish therein, and has made his mark not knowing how to sign his name, the year and day as below given.

his
HENRY x BUTLER.
mark

PATT KENNEDY,	JAMES MORIN,	CARBONNEAU.
Witness.	Witness.	Clerk.

[Endorsed:] Examination of Henry Butler at Post Vincennes before Mons. Rocheblave.

ROCHEBLAVE TO CARLETON.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, B. 122, p. 12.

Sir:—I have the honor of informing your excellency that, at the close of last month, I went to St. Vincennes to confer there with Lieut. Gov. Abbott upon the affairs of this region. I urged him not to leave, or at least to withdraw here and assume command. I was not successful in this attempt. I took for my return route the way of the Wabash and the beautiful river, ascending the Mississippi, and arriving at this Fort. My intention was to learn the disposition of the Indians, particularly of the Delawares. M. Abbott and I have been informed that they have entered into engagements contrary to the interests of the crown, and I wished to dissipate the impressions

to our disadvantage which our neighbors seek to inculcate daily. I learned upon my arrival at the beautiful river, the fifth of the present month, that two days ago a vessel had passed coming from Fort Pitt, which had taken two brothers who under the passport of Mr. Abbott had gone to trade with the Indians. I learned the next day that they had also taken M. Le Chance, officer of Militia at this place who left before me, going under my passport to journey to St. Vincennes. They took with the latter his childred, his effects and his negroes. They took likewise one of the two brothers of the first capture, with fifty packages of skins which they had, after making them understand that they should only put the blame on their passport and that they wished to take Mr. Hamilton, Abbott, and myself. We discovered that, by their language, they were seeking to inspire a spirit of independence among the people. The ship is large, pointed and with quarter netting having, according to some of the engagès, two cannon, and four, according to others, who say that two are masked, and forty soldiers, commanded by an officer from Philadelphia named Willing, who has three others under his orders. It is loaded with provisions. Congress has written by this occasion to the Spanish Governor at New Orleans, and the Commandant of that nation in this region has received a letter of the contents of which nothing has transpired.

As I had good reason to fear they would proceed only as far as the Illinois, I decided to abandon the project of visiting the Indians at the adjoining rivers, and by traveling day and night to arrive before them. I met at the entrance of the Mississippi the recruits of the two captives, whom they had landed stripped of everything, after having required of them that they would not take arms against their pretended states. I learned that they understood (if one could put faith in what some soldiers said to

some engagès of their acquaintance) that their aim is to possess themselves, with the aid of their supporters and others of their sort, of Natchez and Manchac, and to force to take arms in their favor several thousands of those located at the foot of the Mississippi, and to return with munitions of war.

If such is their plan, I think that in any event, they must prepare a way of retreat for the chiefs of this fatal revolt, who, taking refuge in a country covered with immense forests, surrounded by numberless rivers, and assisted by our neighbors, could not be dispossessed of it without a severe blow, and without causing immense expense in view of the local difficulties.

I would be all the more tempted to attribute this project to them, since after the battle of Long Island, the capture of New York, and subsequent events, when finally things were at their worst for them, they caused to be constructed a quantity of barges at Fort Pitt, and the project was proposed to the Spaniards, according to what a reliable person from their side has told me, and was only abandoned when they had taken heart again after the surprise of Trenton. Thus we can see the Congress keeping alive here the leaven of the rebellion. Your excellency knows better than anyone how important it is, for the interests of Great Britain, that they should not have immediate relations with a jealous power, and one which exists in a region where it can in safety foment the troubles in the colonies, subdued or to be subdued.

Four months ago, after the arrival of the boats from New Orleans, the Spaniards sent off by night three men to carry letters to Fort Pitt. They spread the story that they were going to hunt o the Beautiful River. Although I did not credit the report, I have only recently been assured of the fact by two savages who met them.

I regret exceedingly, Monsieur, that the state of affairs

does not permit you to maintain here some troops, by means of which, and the inhabitants could give aid to them, they could cut off all foreign relations, make the passage of the Beautiful River at least dangerous, and could plant themselves on the hills at the foot of the Mississippi, and compel our neighbors to ccntribute only their good wishes to the continuation of our troubles. If zeal and activity alone could procure us these advantages, as my honor is concerned, your excellency might remain without anxiety. Although stripped of everything, I would not cease to put forth every effort and would only desist from it, when there was no more hope. I place before you the declaration of a deserter from the colonies. He as well as others has asked that they might enjoy the benefits offered to those who leave the rebel army. I implore your excellency to give me directions upon this subject, as well as upon the deeding of lands which numbers of the refugees from the colonies are soliciting, conjointly with the inhabitants of the Spanish prairie. I have likewise sent you a journal of last year which sets forth the doings of the spanish with the indians of our shore to our prejudice, and a notice by which anyone on their side can warn me of any evil designs of the rebels towards me.

I must inform you that the roof of the house of the fort which is of shingles is entirely rotten being made twenty five years ago and that it rains in everywhere altho' I am continually patching it up. If there is much longer delay in putting on a new roof, a house which has cost more than forty thousand piastres to the Jesuits will be lost.

It grieves me to the heart, sir, to speak with you on the subject of finance. My expenditure for the first thirteen months of my government, has reached about one thousand pounds sterling, for which deduction should be made for the sum Mr. Hamilton was willing to pay. I have

taken the liberty of drawing upon your excellency in favor of Messrs. Unirat & Eirre, according to the account which I have had the honor of addressing to you. I have the unhappiness of learning that these same drafts, of which one is in the hands of Mr. Maisonville at Detroit and the other is held by Mr. de Seve at Montreal, have not been paid, which renders all business nearly impossible and costs the more. If you were fully persuaded, sir, of the necessity of such expense and of the dispositions of our neighbors, if you were well informed that under the old government I have not had the wit to make a fortune, that at present I have not even the time to think of it, you would see that with resources so small for a country so large, I have been able to make redoubled efforts against our neighbors harboring bands of adventurers coming from the colonies, and have kept alive a sort of government in a region where jealousy and scheming have sought to introduce anarchy and confusion. I am persuaded that the goodness and the justice of your heart will not permit you to hesitate to order the payment which has not already been made. Your order to suspend all expenses which reached me July last, did not surprise me, having in some sort solicited it, by a letter in which I had the honor of pointing out that in a time where the State was required to make violent effort it was wise to forbid them here. But scarcely had I written thus, deceived by an insidious tranquility, when two well founded alarms came to disabuse me. Out of respect for your orders I ought in reply to point out to your excellency that from this day I have discontinued those for account of the King, and, judging them indispensable, have continued my own. I have strongly felt that the honor of the nation would not permit you sir to make costly a fanaticism of zeal so little proportioned to my means, and that you would need more of me than to see me the sport of our neighbors and of the savages.

I have on every occasion urged that I might be replaced by some other person better accredited, and, this being settled in my favor, I will go so far to-day as to even say that the good of the service requires this. A native born Englishman would experience fewer annoyances on the part of those who have this advantage, although those who are here are little worthy to be so styled. They whom I have had business with of that faction, and who have often wasted the attention due to other matters have given me too much vexation, besides one has need of a clear head here, and my mind is daily impaired and weakened by a thousand details, each one more disagreeable than the other, being obliged to be the *fac totum* of everything.

I have the honor to be with the most respectful consideration your excellency's very humble and obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

P. S. I have forgotten to inform you that in July last seeing myself without resources and threatened with a war which they told me on every side would not long be delayed, and almost positive that your excellency would not pay I begged Mr. Abbott to add to his account four hundred and four piastres that I had given in merchandise to the Indians of his government before his arrival, which he did. Meanwhile this same charge is carried into the accounts of the first thirteen months. I ought to reimburse it, if you have paid it, or to carry it in a deduction upon the current account if you admit it. I have forced myself to this kind of deceit, which the crisis alone could justify, to furnish me either the funds or time, and it troubles me all the more because it is foreign to my character. Fort Gage le 18 Fr. 1778.

[Endorsed:] Mr. Rocheblave, 8th Feb. 78.

ROCHEBLAVE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Series 1, Vol. 15, p. 196.

FORT GAGE of Illinois, 28th February, 1778.

My Lord:— The unfortunate situation in which his Excellency, Mr. Carleton, found himself at the end of the year 1775, at the time of the invasion of the province of Quebec by the Colonists, obliged him to recall the garrison of this Country in order to fall back upon Detroit and Niagara. This general judged wisely that under the circumstances it were better not to have the few troops belonging to him widely dispersed, when in consolidating them lay his only chance of accomplishing anything. In consequence of his orders, Captain Hugh Lord, who had governed this country with general satisfaction evacuated it, leaving me in charge without troops, without money, without resources. This evacuation which the then crisis rendered necessary, and could alone justify, should have been remedied when the face of affairs had changed. But I think there is but little known in regard to this country. It will soon become the center of communication between the Colonists and the Spaniards by means of the Mississippi and the beautiful river, which offers them connection with the Gulf of Mexico and New Orleans. I have in vain set forth the danger of this, but have been powerless to prevent it from lack of means. I take the liberty my Lord of representing to you that the only means of saving this country and to guard against the numberless impediments to communication, is the immediate residence here of a lieutenant governor and troops. This statement of mine should be believed all the more since their coming would eclipse me. I wish that the nation could know that this is one of the best possessions, and that some encouragement could be given it.

Not having the honor of being known to you, my Lord,

I will not venture to take the liberty of expressing myself at greater length. I refer you in regard to the account to be rendered you, to Mr. Abbott, lieutenant governor at St. Vincennes, whom to our great regret threatening circumstances have obliged to go to meet the troops at Detroit. I will confine myself to asking your favor for an old soldier on half pay in Europe in 1748 and in America in 1763.

Having from fortune only a wife and children, I beg of you that they may be given the pension of the commandants at the Posts. I have the honor to be with respectful consideration, My Lord, your very humble and obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

[Endorsed:] Fort Gage of the Illinois, Feb. 28th, 1778, Mr. de Rocheblave, R. 13th Sept.

ROCHEBLAVE TO BOSSERON AT ST. VINCENNES.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, Vol. 122, p. 35.

[DETROIT, April 25, 1778.]

By a deserter arrived from Fort Pitt, we have learned that the people of Philadelphia having shaken off the yoke of Congress, have raised the chain which prevented the ships of the King from passing, and have by so doing returned to their allegiance to his majesty. Congress had fled precipitately toward the mountains, after the complete rout of its army, that the people sigh ardently for peace in order to escape from the most frightful misery. The chiefs of the revolt are saving their effects by the route to Fort Pitt.

A boat descending from the said Fort, has taken the Srs. Becquet and their packages. Mr. La Chance has submitted to the same fate with his brandy. Although the colonists have never had the ill will of this country, this is

a certain proof that they would spare them little, if they came there in force. Certain rumors which are abroad as to the bad disposition of the savages, make me desire to speak with the Chiefs of the Loups. I beg of you if you if you are at the Post to induce them to come and see me.

(The above extract of a letter from Mr. de Rocheblave dated Feb'ry 28, 1778, was communicated by Lieut.-Gov. Abbott to Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, and by him sent to Gen. Carleton—under date of April 25, 1778, from Detroit.)

ROCHEBLAVE TO LIEUT.-GOV. HAMILTON.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, Vol. 122, p. 33.

After Midnight, March 17th, 1778.

Sir:—At supper time there entered this evening a delaware war chief who reported that five or six hundred rebels are making a fort on the river of the Chaouanons which is eighteen leagues above the mouth of the beautiful river. This being true we are upon the eve of great events in this country.

He said that his people had killed four of them and had lost a chief. I am more and more convinced that this Country is to become their retreat and that we need troops here. The Sieur des Groselliers the present messenger is about to go in search of merchandise for Mr. Cerré. As we are in extreme need of everything, I beg you to facilitate his progress in every way. If the rebels secure possession, I will warn you in time to stop his return. I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

To the Hon. Henry Hamilton, Esquire, Lieut. gov. of Detroit and dependencies thereto.

[Endorsed:] From Mr. Rocheblave to Lieut. Govr. Hamilton of 17 March, 1778.

ROCHEBLAVE TO LIEUT.-GOV. ABBOTT.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, Vol, 122, p. 89.

FORT GAGE, 20th June, 1778.

Sir:—The news which the boats arriving yesterday bring us are confined to the acts of brigandage done on the lower Mississippi by the party of Mr. Willing which has pillaged indiscriminately to the extent of their power the English subjects, after having once left them in peace, and received their oath of neutrality.

Conduct so odious, so worthy of an Arab has already begun to receive a part of the return it merits, a detachment of this corps having been surprised to the number of sixteen at Manchac, where a party from Pensacola killed four of their men and carried off a dozen. As they hastened to richer prey, they left the Natchez without pillaging them but they afterward sent a detachment of thirty-two men in a boat with six pieces of cannon to make this expedition. But the people of the Natchez becoming wise by the fate of the others, attacked them and having killed seven, have taken the rest as well as the boat and cannon, and have managed to prevent them from coming up the river, being five hundred under arms with the savages, having made up their minds not to permit them to take all of their goods. I hope always to have the honor of seeing you; having reasons which should engage you to come without delay. I have the honor to be with sincere attachment, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

ROCHEBLAVE TO THOMAS DUNN, TREASURER, QUEBEC.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, B. 122, p. 101.

FORT GAGE of the Illinois, the 4th July, 1778.

Sir:—I have drawn today upon you in favor of Mr. Dejean for twelve hundred and sixty two pounds and a

half sterling for to pay the expense since the twenty fouth May of last year until today. I have the honor of giving you advice by the present, praying that you will honor it. The uncertainty in which I am as to whether my draft of last year has been paid, has occasioned me an increase of expense by the high prices and the state of dependence in which I have been kept.

And meanwhile the information concerning the doings of our neighbors the Spaniards with the Americans require that I should do even more than before, if my services are to be of any use to this Country.

I offer them freely. I have the honor to be with the most entire consideration, etc. ROCHEBLAVE.

[Endorsed:] 1778, Letter from Monsieur Rocheblave, Commandant at Fort Gage, Dated 4th July.

ROCHEBLAVE TO THOMAS DUNN, TREASURER, QUEBEC.

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, B. 122, p. 102.

FORT GAGE, 4th July, 1778.

Bill of Exchange, £1261. 10 sterling.

By this bill of exchange, it will please you to pay, the second and third of the same date and tenure being unpaid, to Mr. Dejean or order the sum of twelve hundred and sixty two and one half pounds sterling to liquidate the expense incurred in this country since the 24th of May of last year up to this day, according to the advice of your very humble and very obedient servant.

ROCHEBLAVE, Commandant at the Illinois.

To Mr. Dunn, Treasurer General of the Province of Quebec, at Quebec.

[Endorsed:] A copy of a bill of exchange drawn by M. Rocheblave on Mr. Dunn, for $1262. 10 sterling, Fort Gage, the 4th July, 1778.

ROCHEBLAVE TO CARLETON. (?)

Translation from "Canadian Archives," Haldimand Papers, B. 122, p. 91.

Sir:—I have had from time to time the honor of informing your Excellency of the journey of Mr. Willing, a native of Philadelphia, a would be captain for Congress, who left Fort Pitt last winter, directing his way, at the beginning of February, towards the lower part of the Mississippi, having under his orders in a bateaux four officers and about forty soldiers. By bateaux arriving from New Orleans we learn that he put himself at the head of three hundred rogues, after having perpetrated every kind of brigandage in the English establishments, pillaging to the extent of more than a million and a half of piastres in negroes, indigo, silver and skins, without counting a prodigious quantity of merchandise of all sorts, and munitions of war. He has destroyed English Arkansas, which is no longer anything but a desert, and of which the greater part of the inhabitants have joined the troop. He conducted the remainder to Spanish Arkansas, and there, having found a kind of portrait of His Britannic Majesty they carried it along on the end of a pole, and then with a gun fired a number of shots at it, without the commandant offering any opposition to this indecency. They went from there to the largest English establishment at Natchez, a hundred leagues distant from Arkansas, and an equal distance from New Orleans, but it not being very rich they attacked it in the night and carried off several persons to serve them as hostages. They hastened from there to gain the habitations of the merchants. These required two of them to sign a promise of neutrality, and to give their word of honor to leave them in peace, but, after gathering together a band of rascals of all nationalities, they began to pillage and ravage with a fury more worthy of the savages who surround us than of a civilized nation. And, as if the names of brigands was not enough for

them, they have wished to add that of perjurers, in refusing to give their share of the pillage to the ruffians who joined them only upon the promise to do so. In leaving Manchac for New Orleans they left behind a dozen men to gather the animals together. A detachment coming from Pensacola by the lakes and the river D'Iberville, which is an offshoot of the Mississippi seventy miles from its mouth, killed three of them and led the rest captives to their garrison. Willing came in search of the animals and caused the houses to be set on fire. I forgot to say that upon their arrival at Manchac they surprised and boarded a frigate of eighteen cannon. Odious as may be their doings, the preservation of this country is due to their course of rapine and perjury. Mobile and perhaps Pensacola would perhaps have succumbed, if more desirous of conquest than of booty they had used more moderation. The partisans of the government, although to a great degree already disposed to take arms in their favor, would have been forced to do so by a band of adventurers, but that some seeing the devastations, and others the broken faith in depriving them of their share of the spoils, thought only of getting away secretly to Natchez. Willing, who was ignorant of this and who was counting on his adherents, sent after the pillagers two officers with thirty soldiers in a vessel carrylng six pieçes of cannon. The inhabitants of Natchez, embarking to the number of six hundred, killed seven of their number, among whom were some officers, and have captured the rest. Willing used money by the handful to recruit soldiers at New Orleans. Such is as far as the present time, sir, the state of this expedition, the progress of which as your excellency may judge, may be attributed only to the conformity of sentiment of the great part of the people of this country with the other Americans, which might have been kept under control by a few troops joined by those well disposed.

These would have overawed our neighbors, whose fraudulent neutrality has been more fatal to us than a war, which would have permitted us to have put them out of the account before they had strengthened themselves.

You will remember sir, that I have had the honor of pointing out to your excellency that there were arms and habiliments for more than a thousand men in the magazines of the King of Spain at New Orleans. Upon the arrival of Willing, there were taken away three or four thousand pieces of blue and white cloth, which under frivolous pretexts have been sold to the priests, while the merchants have not been able to procure any. More than two thousand pieces and a great quantity of powder have already been sold there, for the service of the colonies. Their agent will come down one of these days to load two vessels. It is hoped, by the means of the French and the Spanish, in case the Natchez stand firm, to take over three hundred pounds of powder destined down below for them, as well as the products of their robberies.

Three bateaux have lately passed on the beautiful river, going from Fort Pitt loaded with provisions to New Orleans, with four hundred men. I have hastened off a party to get the start of them if possible, and to forewarn the Natchez. They say these bateaux will be constantly followed by others, so that this fall the beautiful river will be covered with bateaux carrying provisions, which they dare not confide to the sea, if your excellency does not see to this promptly.

The new Spanish Commandant has orders to construct four forts at the Illinois, where they expect a battalion this fall. They will form two in the City. The old officers, on half pay from France have places there, and the ships have gone to Vera Cruz in search of soldiers. Discouragement is extreme here among the inhabitants, from the practices of our neighbors and some of the native English,

much less patriots than the so called subjects, if these were backed up. But I repeat with regret that with troops the ground might have been held. Without this, nothing can be hoped from them, so greatly have they been made to fear. The Spanish have announced, to induce them to come to them, that they will give the means of subsistence during three years, ground, one pair of oxen, and the necessary implements for cultivating the soil. So far they have not been able to gain over any one, which is no small proof of the preference they feel for this government. But it is to be feared that the crisis they have now reached will cause this to disappear. If the government would run the risk of losing three or four hundred pounds sterling, which it would cost to export the harvest of the inhabitants of New Orleans who could be reimbursed by the sale, we should have the pleasure of seeing rise and fall, perhaps for ever, the Spanish battalion which can not subsist without provisions from this shore, their harvest having failed. It would be neither possible nor reasonable to prevent the inhabitants from selling to them unless the failure could be proved to them. They could not draw these from the towns, except at immense expense and with invincible obstacles during winter, which would make them promptly renounce all projects of establishment. If I do regret not being rich, it is upon an occasion which furnishes us the means of avenging ourselves, without exposure and without consequences, upon a thousand enemies, and for acts of hostility to which I have to be all the more sensible, as, allowing something to circumstances, I have been prompt to do that which could injure them.

The crew of the two bateaux which brought the new commandant have settled themselves in the habitations of the English, deserted by all that had escaped or been despised by the Americans. The proprietors have carried

their complaints to New Orleans. I await a reply to those I have brought here. I await with the greatest impatience the orders of your excellency, or rather I beg of you to give them to some other person a native Englishman, in order to escape the too common jealousies of some, who having merely the name, and whose affections are all for the Americans, are seeking to thwart all my efforts, intriguing with our neighbors and poisoning with the venom of their hearts the purest intentions. I assure you, sir, that, if I had the advantage of being born English, I should have retained but few of those who are here who seem to me to be the shame and disgrace of the nation. Let no one accuse me of prejudice. Every honest man has always his rights and I have certain ones exempt from national prejudice.

A native Englishman would not have done for them what I have done, and for the same reason would have controlled them better. Reckless spirits for the most part, they thought that the government owed them everything and that they owed nothing to the government. They raise a cry for liberty in all that concerns them, while their minds and hearts are full of schemes of oppression for all that does not pertain to themselves. Will your excellency deign to pardon the expressions coming from a heart shattered with grief which only fall upon the unworthy members of a race I have always admired and respected, and to whom I may say I have been assured of the esteem of all others, and of the generous and enlightened nations who might have been in their place. I beg you to see, sir, only an excess of zeal in the urgent solicitations I have the honor to make to you to send at once a body of troops here, to prevent the importation of an immense quantity of all sorts of aid for the colonies. All the alarms I have sought to give will be only too well realized. We are upon the eve of seeing

here a numerous band of brigands who will establish a chain of communication which will not be easy to break, once formed. If by the schemes of the Spanish the Natchez are conquered, there will be established an armed force in this country. You have no time to lose to prevent this misfortune. If militia can be counted for anything at present, a person of discretion with troops would attract more adherents than would be believed. Inclination is, in spite of abandonment and distress, still for the government, but it is more than time to revive their drooping courage or all will be lost here.

The Indians are in general well enough disposed, but it is difficult to control them with so small a force, besides without numbers one can not inspire respect. All that can be done is to destroy the impressions that our neighbors and emissaries of the colonies seek to instil. I am struggling against this all I can, in order to gain time and keep the door open.

My expenses since the twenty fourth of May of last year to the present time amounts to thirteen hundred and fifty seven pounds sterling, of which I have drawn upon Mons. Abbott for four hundred and four and a half, as set forth in the expenses of the first thirteen months, to be deducted if the account has been paid of which I am ignorant as yet. I draw upon Mr. Dunn for this sum, and implore your excellency to order this payment, being overcome with demands.

With a letter of credit upon some merchant accredited for a limited sum upon the merchants here, a saving might be made upon the expenses, and one would not be placed in a shameful and injurious dependence, but would be master of his undertakings. I will send the account by the first opportunity being too much occupied today. I entreat your excellency, if I can be of no more use here, when you replace me to grant some assistance to a father

of a family in pecuniary difficulties. I recommend myself to you and assure you of the respectful considertion with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant. ROCHEBLAVE.

FORT GAGE, the 4th of July, 1778.

[Endorsed:] 1778, from Mr. Rocheblave, commanding at the Illinois of the 4th of July. Rec'd at Montreal, Canada, Enclosed in Lt. Govr. Hamilton's letter of the 6th August, marked Detroit No. 7.

ROCHEBLAVE TO CARLETON.

Translated from "Canadian Archives," Series B. 97, 1, p. 1.

Sir:—I steal a moment from my guards in order to have the honor of informing your excellency that the night of the fifth or sixth of July last three hundred rebels under the orders of Mr. Clerke [?], the self-styled Colonel, arrived here where they have made me prisoner.

The majority of the inhabitants knowing the manœuvres which had occurred in the lower part of the Mississippi were resolved to defend themselves, but the dealings of our neighbors, the Spaniards and the abuse of the treacherous English, especially those named Daniel Murray, Richard Winston and John Hanson, prevented them from doing it. There remained to me for a resource Mr. Le Gros who prepared himself with forty men to come and join me from Fort Vincennes, where he is captain of militia, but the rebels having landed on the beautiful river, sixty leagues from here, crossed the neck of land which separates that river from this place, and prevented that. I regret so much the more that he did not arrive, as a number of men on seeing me supported would have joined themselves to us, and we would have been able to hold the balance of affairs in opposition to those who were destitute and in extremities.

Uselessly for two years past, I have been representing the necessity of cutting off the communication between the beautiful river and the Mississippi, carried on with the Spaniards. It is open, and I hope that there does not result more inconvenience than I have predicted. I beg your excellency to pay the expenses for which I have drawn upon Mr. Dunn. I entreat you to have pity upon the family of Captain Hugh Lord left with mine without resource, their effects and mine having been for the most part seized and sold. I leave here a wife and seven children deprived of the first necessities of life. They say that I depart to morrow for the Congress. I recommend myself to you to be exchanged. I say nothing to you of my prison, which there is nothing like in Algiers. I have lost between Mr. Lord and myself in slaves, animals, goods and utensils, nine thousand piastres. I hope that your excellency will have regard to our families, and will cause them to receive some aid by the way of Mr. De Feire, merchant at Montreal, who could give his orders to Mr. Cerré, merchant here. I have neither a good pen nor any other paper. Your excellency will excuse a prisoner who writes upon his knees. Sick as he is, the time has come when he must depart from the country. I have the honor to be with the most respectful consideration your excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

ROCHEBLAVE.

FORT GAGE, the third of April, [August?] 1778.*

* The date of this letter, as copied from the "Canadian Archives," appears to be *April* 3, 1778, but this is a palpable error, as Rocheblave refers in it to his capture which took place in July, 1778. It probably was written August 3, 1778, as he speaks of being made prisoner in "July last," and also mentions his probable departure the next day "for the Congress," that is to Virginia, and we know that he was sent to Williamsburg not long after his capture. It will be noticed that he says he was taken prisoner the night of the fifth or sixth of July, while all other accounts represent this as occurring on the night of the fourth of that month.—E. G. M.

COURT OF ENQUIRY AT FT. CHARTRES

By JOHN MOSES,
Secretary Chicago Historical Society.

THE "Illinois country," although ceded by the French to Great Britain two years previously, in consequence of the armed opposition of its native proprietors, was not reduced to actual possession, until the surrender of Fort Chartres, its capital, "with its barracks, magazines, and artillery," on October 10, 1765.

It was not considered "sound policy" by the British government to encourage, nor even permit, British settlements within this newly-acquired territory. It was feared that they would not only weaken and retard the growth of the older communities on the Atlantic, which they desired to foster, but that the inhabitants would eventually become, as stated by the governor of Georgia, "a separate and independent people who would set up for themselves."*

The country was to be held under a military government, and the French inhabitants, less than two thousand in number, who elected to remain in the country were to be protected in their religion, and treated kindly, receiving the same rights and privileges as native-born subjects of the king. Trade was to be encouraged, and the most friendly relations maintained with the Indians.

Thomas Sterling, then a gallant young captain in the Forty-second Highlanders—the celebrated "Black-Watch" regiment—who subsequently fought his way up to a major-generalship and a baronetcy, to whom Fort Chartres was surrendered, remained in command but a short time, and

* "Report of British Board of Trade," 27.

was succeeded by Maj. Robert Farmer in Dec., 1765, by Col. Edward Cole, in 1766–8, and he by Col. John Reed. The latter was relieved at his own request, and was followed Sept. 5, 1768, by "John Wilkins, Esquire, lieutenant-colonel of his majesty's Eighteenth or Royal regiment of Ireland, and commandant throughout the Illinois country," as he described himself.

Upon learning that the country, where they had lived so long and thrived, had changed owners, a large portion of the French removed to the west side of the Mississippi. Those who remained became difficult subjects to govern. They regarded their new rulers as their hereditary enemies, and admired neither their laws, manners and customs, nor their regulations concerning trade.

A few British families and soldiers from the fort occupied some of the farms which had been abandoned by the French or sold for a nominal sum. The principal trading of the country, it appears, was in the hands of what was called "The Company," a firm composed of Boynton, Wharton and Morgan. It dealt in cattle and produce, and had stores at Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres.

The French and Indians in their free-and-easy methods of dealing with each other had their disagreements, but these were easily settled in comparison with the more serious disputes which grew out of the trade with their new neighbors.

As a remedy for the evils of a strictly military administration, Col. Wilkins, pursuant to orders from Gen. Gage, Nov. 21, 1768, granted commissions of the peace to seven of his subjects, English and French, who together were to "form a court of judicature to determine all causes of debt," but without the intervention of a jury. George Morgan, manager of "the company," who was very unpopular with the French on account of his supposed hostile interests, was made the president of the court.

The commandant was inclined to favor his appointee, the French petitioned and remonstrated against him, and a small rebellion broke out in opposition to the newly-established judicial tribunal.* It suited neither the British, who preferred the finding of a jury and objected to the rulings of a French magistrate; nor the French who had no respect for the verdict of a jury and a strong proclivity against British justices-of-the-peace.

Courts of enquiry, as they were called—ordered by the commandant; being more in consonance with military rule, appear to have been adopted as a mode of settling civil disputes in place of the unsatisfactory magistrates' court.

One of these, of which we have only a meagre account, was ordered Jan. 13, 1769, to adjust accumulating and aggravating disputes between George Morgan and certain complaining French citizens. The proceedings, lasting until Jan. 20, were rancorously exciting and the result not satisfactory to either party.*

Another one of these courts of enquiry was ordered by the commandant upon the complaint of one Richard Bacon to settle certain matters of "personal abuse" from, and violations of contract by, the same George Morgan, before mentioned. The complete record of this proceeding has been preserved among the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which, through the courtesy of R. G. Thwaites, corresponding-secretary, we are permitted to have the pleasure of laying before our readers.

The court convened, Sept. 24, 1770. Among its members was the noted Thomas Hutchins, then an ensign in the king's service, subsequently the geographer—surveyor-general, of the United States; and among the witnesses were Patrick Kennedy, who wrote the "Journal of a Tour up the Illinois River in 1775," and a Mr. Winston, who, it is fair to infer, was the Richard Winston who figured at Kaskaskia as commandant in 1779.

* *The Historical Magazine*, 1864, VIII, 262, 270.

The record, beginning with the original contract between the parties, affords an inside view of the condition of affairs in Illinois at this time, as interesting as it is amusing:

"Articles of Agreement made and Concluded & Agreed upon this 21st day of march in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & Sixty Eight, by and between George Morgan, for himself, & John Boynton & Saml. Wharton of the City of Philadelphia, Merch: of the one part, & Richard Bacon late of Providence in New England now Residing in the Illinois of the other Part witnesseth

"That whereas the said Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan, and Richd. Bacon have Agreed to Enter into a Copartnership, to & jointly to form a Settlement & Improve a plantation in the Illinois Country to raise Stock, Indian Corn, Tobacco, Wheat, & other Articles for the Joint benefit of them the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan & Richd. Bacon.

"For the better Carrying the design into Execution the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan do Covenant Grant & Agree on their parts as follows Viz

"1st. That they will furnish a certain plantation which they purchas'd Situate in the Grand Prairie on the road between Fort Chartres & Kaskaskias, to be by them and the Said Richd. Bacon Improv'd for the purposes aforesaid, and that the said Richd. Bacon shall have full Liberty to make all such Improvements thereon as they may now & hereafter agree upon, particularly to Cut & make use of all Trees & Timber thereunto belonging, as he may think proper for the joint Interest of the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan & him the said Richard Bacon.

"2dly. That the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan will furnish every necessary in their power, for the better Carrying on the Said improvement &c; at the joint risque & Expence of them the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan

& Richard Bacon & that they will wait for the payment thereof from the Stock, grain, Tobacco &c; to be rais'd from said Plantation.

"3dly. That they will advance all Monies which may be necessary for the wages of Men to assist in working on the Said Plantation at the joint Risque & Expence aforesaid.

"4thly. That they will Stock the said plantation with as many breeding Sows, Cows, and with Cattle Horses &c; as they may esteem necessary or be required thereto by the said Richard Bacon if to be procurd or in their power, at the joint Risque & Expence of them the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan & the said Richard Bacon & that they will wait at least twelve months for the payment thereof, or if necessary 'till they Can be paid on the Stock &c; rais'd on the said Plantation.

"1st. And The said Richd. Bacon on his part doth hereby Covenant, Grant, bargain & agree as follows Viz.

"That he will at the same Time without any fee or reward other than what may arise from the Improvements of Raising Hogs, Cattle, Tobacco, Grain and other produce for the joint benefit of the said Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan, & Richard Bacon, & that he will Employ and Oversee all such persons, as may be necessary for Carrying on the Improvements &c; aforesaid, at the joint Risque & Expence of the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan & the said Richard Bacon.

"2dly. That he will build one Log House on the aforesaid plantation & that he will fence in at least fifty acres thereof at the joint Cost of the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan & Richard Bacon as aforesaid, for the more Convenient raising of Cattle, Hogs, Grain, Tobacco &c &c;

"3dly. That out of the first produce from the said plantation, that the said Boynton Wharton & Morgan shall be repaid all the monies they may advance for the Improvements and Expences of the aforesaid Plantation.

"4thly. That he will build proper Stables, Sheds, Pens &c; for the better keeping the Cattle Hogs &c; for the reception of the produce of the said plantation at the joint risque & Expence as aforesaid.

"It is allso further mutually Covenanted, Bargain'd & Agreed, that all the benefits & Profits and Advantages that shall or may arise from raising of Stock, Tobacco, Grain, & other produce shall be equally Divided between the said Parties.

"That is, that the said Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan, shall have, be entitled to, & Enjoy one half part thereoff, & that the said Richd. Bacon shall have, be entitled to & Enjoy the one other half part thereof.

"And that this Copartnership shall Continue & last for Seven Years from the date hereof unless the aforesaid Richd. Bacon shall Choose to decline the same at the Expiration of One year from the date hereof.

"And that all the Improvements made on the said plantation shall be & remain at the Expiration of the said Term of years to them the said Boynton, Wharton & Morgan, without any payment or allowance whatsoever.

"Likewise that the said Boynton, Wharton & Morgan shall have & Enjoy full Liberty without any payment thereof, to place on the said Plantation, any number of Cattle, & Horses, which they may purchase on their own accounts & which the said Richd. Bacon may not incline to become Concern'd in, & the said Richd. Bacon Engages & promises, to take the same Care of them, as the Stock which he may be interested in.

"Sign'd BOYNTON, WHARTON, & MORGAN.

"Seal'd & Delivered in the presence of J. Rumsey.

"Sign'd JOSH RIGBY."*

* Endorsed: "Copy of the Articles of Agreement Between B.[oynton] W.[harton], & Richard Bacon. No. 4."

"Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry on a Complaint Exhibited by Mr. Richard Bacon against Geo: Morgan Esqr. for *Personal Abuse*, and not Complying Strictly to the Tenour of his Agreement with him Concerning the Improvement of a Farm or Plantation, Situated about Six Miles from Fort Chartres on the Road from thence to Kaskaskia. By Order of Lieut. Colonel John Wilkins, Commandant at Fort Chartres & the Country of the Illinois &c; &c; this 24th. Septemr. 1770:

"President, Lieut. Lewis Wynne. Members: Lieut. Alexr. Fowler, Ensign Thos. Hutchins, Ensign Wm. Richardson, Ensign Wm. Conally.

"The Court Order'd Mr. Bacon before them, who deliver'd the follow'g Annex'd Papers, which the Judge Advocate Read Publickly in Court, all Parties being present.

"Articles of Agreement, between Messrs. Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan, & Mr. Richard Bacon, Annex'd to the Minutes; as also Mr. Bacon's Memorial to Colo. Wilkins, & his Paper to the Court Representing a State of his Grievances.

"Question proposed by ye Court to Mr. Bacon:—'As you seem Mr. Bacon to think that Mr. Morgan has Settled Mr. Elliott on Land you thought belonged to the Plantation, you had agreed with Mr. Morgan to Improve, according to the Annex'd Articles, The Court would be glad to know the Boundaries of Said Plantation, also that you wou'd point out to them the many Grievances & Injuries you so heavily Complain of Receiving from Mr. Morgan?'

"Bacon.—'I Cannot point out the Boundaries of the whole, but I Can point out the Boundaries of that part of the Plantation now in Dispute.'

"Court.—'How Came it that Mr. Morgan pointed out the Boundaries of one side of the Plantation, without pointing out the Boundaries of ye whole?'

"Answ. Bacon.—'Mr. Morgan told me that he did not know the Boundaries of the other Parts of the Plantation.'

"Court.—'When the Agreement was made with Messrs. Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan, & you, Concerning the Improvement of said Plantation, that is to Say, when you first Enter'd into Articles of Agreement with them, did you then know, or understand, that Mr. Morgan had any other Lands than the Lands Alluded to in the Articles of Agreement?'

"Ansr. Bacon.—'All that I know of this matter is, that Mr. Morgan told me, that he had fourteen Acres of Land in Front, which land extends in length from the Roches leading to Kaskaskia, to the Banks of the Mississippi opposite thereto: But that about Six or Eight months afterwards, Mr. Morgan told me that he had Purchased Eight Acres in Front, more, which I understood Join'd the first purchased Plantation on the East side.'

"Question proposed by Mr. Morgan:—'From whom Mr. Bacon did you Imagine I had purchas'd the last Plot of Land?'

"Ansr. Bacon.—'I dont know. I never heard from whom.'

"Court.—'Did you know Mr. Bacon that Mr. Morgan had any other Plantation, or Lands whatever, in the Country of the Illinois, at the Time you Enter'd into Articles with him?'

"Bacon.—'I know of none except the Fourteen Acres already mentioned.'

"Court.—'If you dont know the Boundaries of your Plantation, how came you to Imagine that Mr. Elliott has Encroach'd upon you?'

"Bacon.—'I know the Boundaries on the side next to Elliott.'

"Question Mr. Morgan.—'In what manner Mr. Bacon do you apprehend Mr. Elliott hath Encroahed upon you?'

"Bacon.—'Mr. Elliott has Settled on a Place, which I

had Clear'd & made some Improvements upon, whereon is a Spring which I likewise had Cleared & made Convenient for the watering of my Cattle, & hath also taken Possession of a Shed or House which I had Built.'

"Court.—'Was this House or Shed just now mentioned, built, before Mr. Morgan left the Illinois Country in the beginning of July 1769, or had you his Leave in writing or otherwise, to Build Said House or Shed?'

"Bacon.—'The House or Shed was not Built when Mr. Morgan left the Illinois Country in 1769, nor had I his leave in writing for Building of it. But I understood from what Mr. Morgan has frequently Said on talking of the Improvements of the Plantation now in Dispute that I might make Improvements & Build on the Land which Mr. Morgan hath now settled Mr. Elliott upon.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Is Mr. Elliott Settled between the Face of the Roches & the Banks of the Mississippi?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'No, he is not. He is Settled on the Back part of the Roches.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Did you Mr. Bacon make any use of the Shade or House which Mr. Elliott now Occupies?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'No, I did not at the Time Mr. Elliott took Possession of it.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Did not I tell you Mr. Bacon, when I Settled you upon my Plantation that I was not Certain, whether the Plantation wou'd extend to the Eastern Roche or not?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'You did say that you was not Certain whether Your Plantation wou'd Extent from one Roche to the other or not; but that if it did not extend so far, you intended soon to Purchase the Adjoining Lands, & wou'd give me leave, in Consequence of Said Purchase, to make what Improvemts. I thought might be necessary or advantageous to him Mr. Morgan & myself.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Hath Mr. Elliott made any Improve-

ments on the West Side of the Roches in the Grand Prairie?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'No, he has not.'

"Mr. Bacon being desir'd by the Court to proceed to prove the Charge of Personal Abuse—he said as follows:

'Upon going, to Kaskaskia to Settle Accounts with Mr. Morgan, & upon getting there Mr. Morgan Ask'd me if I had got the Staves Ready that he had been talking to me about some time before. On my telling him I had not, Mr. Morgan Demanded my Reason. I told him that I Came to know how my Accounts Stood, before I cou'd do anything more to his Plantation. Upon which Mr. Morgan Call'd me a Damn'd Rascal & a Scoundral, & added that I had Deceiv'd him.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Have you Mr. Bacon any Evidence to prove that you Desir'd a Settlement with me at the Time you have alluded to?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I have no Evidence Present. But one Lowdon a Servant of Mr. Morgan's was Present when Mr. Morgan & I had the Dispute, and I think he must have heard what Pass'd.'

"Mr. Morgan Addressing himself to the Court Said—'On finding that Mr. Bacon had repeatedly Said, that a Certain Gentlemen had told him, (Mr. Bacon) that Mr. Morgan only intended to make a Slave of him; had brought down Mr. Elliott from Ft. Pitt for the same purposes; & that neither of them wou'd ever get a Farthing for their Services; & that he (Mr. Morgan) on finding that Mr. Bacon had Repeated this in many places, did then say to him, that whoever that Gentleman was who told him so, he was A Rascal & a Scoundrel, & beg'd of Mr. Bacon to tell him so.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Did you not Mr. Morgan send for Mr. Elliott & Consult with him about taking the whole of my Stock into his hands, & told him at the same time what

an advantageous matter it wou'd be to him? And also, did you not desire Mr. Elliott to find out if Possible what Sum I wou'd take to leave the Plantation?'

"Mr. Morgan.—'I did propose to Mr. Elliott to purchase Mr. Bacon's Stock, finding him intirely Discontented & Cou'd not Divine for what? and I also added to Mr. Elliott, that I wou'd advance the money for the purchase if him (Mr. Elliott) & Mr. Bacon cou'd agree.'

"Mr. Morgan to Mr. Bacon.—'Did you not hear me give particular Orders for you to be Supply'd with a Copy of your accounts before I left the Illinois Country in 1769?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I heard you tell Mr. Brown to Supply me with the Copys of my Accounts, but Mr. Brown never sent them [to] me.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Did I not Settle Accounts with you at the Plantation in May or June 1769, & in Presence of Mr. Brown after every Article you objected to in the Account?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Mr. Morgan Did respecting the Fort Chartres Accots: only. I do not remember that the Kaskaskia Accots. was Examined at that Time. And I think it was only my Private Accot: that was Examined.'

Upon this Mr. Morgan laid his Books before the Court. By Said Books it appear'd that a great many Articles had been Alter'd both in his Publick & private Accounts. The Court gave Mr. Bacon by the request of Mr. Morgan a Copy of every Article in his Accounts to which he had made the least kind of objection, & desir'd him to make what alteration he thought proper—with this Remark—'I am determined not to differ with you Mr. Bacon, altho you have used many unbecoming means in order to force me to it.'

"The Court after Examining the whole of the Accounts between Mr. Morgan & Mr. Bacon, in which it Appear'd that Mr. Morgan had granted every Indulgence, & even had Indulged Mr. Bacon with making many of the Charges

himself, thought proper to adjourn till to morrow morning Nine of the Clock, in Order to give Mr. Bacon & his Friends Sufficient time to Recollect themselves. The Court being Determin'd to Examine into the Source of Every matter Exhibited by either Party."

"September the 25th. 1770. The Court agreeable to adjournment met this morning at nine of the Clock. When Mr. Bacon Produc'd the Annex'd Paper, which was Read in Court by the Judge Advocate, all Parties Present,[:]

"REPRESENTATIONS" BY MR. BACON.

"Gentlemen of the Court, in order to save you much Trouble, & that nothing may be Omitted I may think of Consequence to my Case, I have transmitted my thoughts again to paper. What I Set forth in my Petition respecting Mr. Elliott is that he was Settled to my Prejudice, that is, his Vicinity & the Encouragement given to him by Mr. Morgan is of great disservice to me, and Absolutely Contradictory to the intent Purport & honest meaning of the 4th Article of our Agreement, whereby he is oblig'd to buy all Stock requir'd by me & in every respect to do his utmost to promote the Interest of said Plantation. Whereas on the Contrary he has Settled a man just under my Nose & made it his Business to deprive me of my Customers to serve him.

"It is plain & Evident to any Impartial person, that it was impossible for me to make anything without Every Effort of Mr. Morgan, or I Shou'd never have agreed to Cede the Improvements and Everything at the Expiration of the Term. With respect to the land—there is no Spot or quantity mention'd in the Articles. It was Equal to me where, how much or how little if Sufficient for my present purpose, & it is not to be Suppos'd that I wou'd go and improve upon another man's land if I knew it; the land mention'd in the Articles is said to be in the Grand Prairie,

whereas my Improvements are for the greatest part not in the Prairie, Chiefly on the west side thereof & butt upon the Roches, where it is not to be suppos'd I wou'd have Settled had I not been told by Mr. Morgan: he at the same time gave me leave to build upon either one side of the Roches or the other which wou'd have taken in near Twenty Acres of Land, I still think Mr. Winston highly necessary to be Call'd upon relative to what I said yesterday, & do with Submission ask it as a favor of this honble Court, that I may be allow'd to Call upon such Evidences as may be necessary to Corroborate what ever I have Asserted.

"Mr. Morgan might Assert with some small degree of Truth, I will allow, that he wou'd give up his Share of the plantation for what it Cost him, meaning I Suppose agreeable to the Accots: Stated between him & me. But the Gentlemen of the Court will please to Consider that he has already made his money by furnishing & Stocking said Farm, & might think himself well off if he got good & immediate payment for his part thereof. At present however that is not so Easily Reconcl'd either, Because Mr. Elliott declar'd to me that Mr. Morgan had told him we had Clear'd 9000 Livres the first year. If so, the decrease of Expence and Increase of Stock & additional Improvements must Certainly Add greatly to the annual Product.

"To Convince you Gentlemen that tho I was immediately dissatisfied with the Settlement of Mr. Elliott, and that I am not so difficult to please, I told Mr. Morgan at the Commencement of this Affair that I wou'd much rather quit the plantation & Settle Another piece of Ground than remain there: upon which he ask'd me what I wou'd do with my Cattle & Stock; I told him I wou'd leave 'em with Mr. Elliott, and wou'd Accept of what he thought proper to allow me for my Industry. The answer he made was, that would not do, & desir'd me to walk to Mr. Elliott's & desire him to leave that place.

"These Assertions of mine Gentlemen I think of weight to me & it is the place of Mr. Morgan to disprove them or they must hold Good.

"Among other things I have to mention, from among the Cattle which came from Post St. Vincent, he took four or five of the Cows & kept them all Summer, after which he return'd them to me in a very poor Condition, & he frequently sends for Cattle for his own use, & orders in favor of other people at what price he thinks proper, & purchases in the same manner without ever Consulting with me at all upon the Subject.

"He has at present a Negro belonging to the plantation at his own house at Kaskaskias which he detains; but what is most Notorious that he is now in possession of an Ox Charg'd to the plantation last year among the 26 head of Cattle which I receiv'd from Post St. Vincent which as yet he has made no mention of to me. Now if this is true what wou'd such a Clandestine detention amount to in any other man, & a poor one too.

"I Came to the Knowledge of this matter by means of Mr. Elliott who Inform'd me, upon asking, if such an ox as that was amongst the number come from the Post, told me that by the discription it was the same, & that Mr. Morgan offer'd him all the Cattle but that & one more which he intended to kill, at the same Time he told Mr. Elliott that if he attempted to take that Ox to the Plantation he wou'd run away from him; upon this Mr. Elliott ask'd him if the Ox had ever been there before, in answer to which Mr. Morgan replied that he had not, for that in Attempting to drive him there he ran away; besides this, Gentlemen, I have seen the Ox myself, & am Certain of its being the same.

"Mr. Morgan, Gentleman, has too or three times mention'd yt he knew I was advis'd, by which he wou'd Seem to intimate that I was insensible of my own Injury, & that

some officious medling & Malignant person had urg'd me to these Steps. Wherefore in Common Justice to the Suspected I do hereby declare, that I was from my feelings as a man & a consciousness of the ill treatment I met with resolv'd & did Communicate my Sentiments to Mr. Morgan unadvis'd in any respect whatsoever; Nay the Personal abuse alluded to in my Petition was given me before I Communicated any Particular Circumstances relative thereto, & till then did not think matters wou'd have become so Serious.

"I shall in the Course of the proceedings answer any further questions the Court may think proper to ask me & Explain whatever may not appear Clear or Satisfactory.

(Sign'd) RICHARD BACON."*

"Mr. Bacon also presented to the Court a Copy of the Articles he, (Mr. Bacon,) had made objections to, and which was furnish'd him by the Court the preceding day by particular desire of Mr. Morgan, without having made any Alteration whatever therein, but Submitted the Charges to the Determination of the Court. The Court, after weighing, & maturely Considering every Charge, after allowing Mr. Bacon every Indulgence Possible Deducted the Sum of Two Hundred & Seventy Livres which Sum Mr. Morgan readily agreed to give Mr. Bacon Credt. for, & gave him Credit for said Sum accordingly in his Books, before the Court. Mr. Morgan addressing himself to the Court, said he was much concern'd, that Mr. Bacon had not pointed out those Charges before, as he wou'd willingly have made Deductions wherever Mr. Bacon thought himself Aggriev'd, or overcharg'd, and observ'd that most of the Charges which Mr. Bacon objected to were made in his Absence, which Observation Appeared manifestly authentick by Mr. Morgan's Books.

* Endorsed: "The Copy of Representation of matters deliver'd to the Court by Mr. Bacon the 25th Septr: 1770. No. 2."

"Mr. Bacon desir'd that Mr. Croghan shou'd be Examin'd, with respect to the Overcharge of Two Horses, Two Oxen, & one cart & Geers, which Mr. Morgan had Charg'd him (Mr. Bacon) Eighteen Hundred Livres for.

"Mr. Croghan, being ask'd by Mr. Bacon whether La Source did not offer him a pair of Horses & a Cart & Gears for one Thousand Livres—Answered—'La Source did offer me a pair of Horses and a Cart & Geers for one Thousand Livres, and at the same Time hinted that he wou'd be glad to get a Negro for said Horses &c, & pay the difference.'

"Another Article that Mr. Bacon objected to, was a Charge of Three Thousand & Eighty Livres, Charg'd by Mr. Morgan for Twenty Six Head of Cattle, Brought, & Deliver'd him at the Plantation from Post St. Vincent.

"The Court desir'd Mr. Winston (Looking upon him as a Judge of those Matters) to give his opinion regarding the prices Mr. Morgan had Char'd Mr. Bacon for said Cattle. Mr. Winston, after Examining the particular prices Charged by Mr. Morgan for the Twenty Six head of Cattle Complain'd of by Mr. Bacon said, that, he thought at the Time they were bought by Mr. Morgan, the Charges were very moderate, Viz. at one hundred & Twenty Livres pr. head for Cows, & One hundred & Fifty Livres for Bullocks, three years Old and upwards; which was [what] Mr. Morgan had Charg'd Mr. Bacon, as appear'd by Mr. Morgan's Books. Mr. Winston observ'd to the Court, that he Spoke from Experience, having often bought Cattle at Post St. Vincent, & knew the Risque and trouble of getting them drove to the Illinois:—and adds,—'I have myself paid One hundred & fifty Livres pr. head in Specie, at Post St.Vincent for a drove of Twenty two Oxen, many of 'em not above Three years old, and two only that was full grown Bullocks,' and Notwithstanding the Expence of driving them from thence to the Illinois, they afforded him A Reasonable profit.

"Question proposed by Mr. Bacon toMr. Morgan:—'You 'll be so kind Mr. Winston to relate to the Court what pass'd between Mr. Morgan & me at the plantation, in the latter end of May 1769, when talking about the improvements of said Plantation?'

"Mr. Winston.—'All that I remember is, that Mr. Bacon was proposing to Mr. Morgan, of breaking up, or Plowing a Piece of land, to the Eastward of the Land already occupied—Mr. Morgan Reply'd, that he thought it was too late in the Season—that he had no objection to the proposal, & recommended him to proceed.' Mr. Winston adds, that Mr. Bacon at the same time was talking to Mr. Morgan about fixing a Trough at the Spring where Mr. Elliott is now Settled, in order that he may have a Constant Supply of water for his Cattle, to which Mr. Morgan gave his Assent, & observ'd, that it wou'd keep his Cattle from Rambling into the woods for want of water —Mr. Winston also observes, that he understood Mr. Bacon had leave, to occupy any Land Contiguous to the Plantation, either upon the Hill, or in the Meadow.

"Mr. Bacon objected against a Charge of Thirty Seven Livres, Ten Sols which Mr. Morgan had Charg'd him for Five Sickles.

"Upon referring to the Books of Mr. Morgan the Court found the Charge was made in his Absence by Mr. Tanley —Tanley being sent for, Said, he never Charg'd Mr. Bacon otherwise, than at the Common Rates & Customs of the Country—the Court was then Clear'd.

"And after having well Consider'd this matter, Unanimously Agreed to allow the Charge of, Thirty seven Livres, Ten Sols for the five Sickles as it appear'd in Mr. Morgan's Books. The Court Admitted all Parties.

"Mr. Bacon, then Objected to a Charge made by Mr. Morgan, of One Hundred & Sixty Livres for Two Hoggs, Bought from One, Goho, & Sent to Mr. Bacon's Plantation.

Mr. Bacon Observing that he is Positive he never Receiv'd said Two Hoggs nor does he know anything of them.

"Mr. Morgan beg'd Leave to refer to his Books, & Mr. Brown being Call'd upon who Keeps Mr. Morgan's Books, (& in whose hand writing this Charge was made) Says, that he Cou'd Almost Swear to the Varacity & Correctness of Mr. Morgan's Books, & also says that he is well Convinc'd Mr. Bacon wou'd not have been Charg'd with the Two Hoggs in question, had he not receiv'd them. As the Entries in the different Books was Extreamly Clear, & without any kind of Erasement the Court Admitted the Charge without Deduction. Mr. Bacon, by a Paper Deliver'd to the Court this morning (which is herewith Annex'd) Complains of Mr. Morgan Detaining at Kaskaskia a Negroe man that belong'd to the Plantation. Mr. Morgan, Addressing himself to the Court Says that the Negroe man alluded to by Mr. Bacon, had run away from him (Mr. Bacon) several times & Said it was owing to the Barbarous treatment he had at Different times Receiv'd from Mr. Bacon, & had Declar'd to him (Mr. Morgan) that he wou'd never live with Mr. Bacon. Mr. Mogan proceeds, & Says, that in the month of June 1769, said Negroe ran away, and Stayd Some days—Upon being found, and an attempt being made to Secure him, He Stabbed himself in Two places, and Declar'd Again that he wou'd Sooner kill himself than go back to Bacon. But he wou'd live with any other Person, & Shou'd be glad to be Sold to any of the French people. He However was Seiz'd upon, bound & Brought to Fort Chartres, where Doctor Thomason, attended him, and made A Cure of his wounds. He was then prevailed upon to go back to live with Mr. Bacon & Continued with him till near Christmas when he again ran away from the Plantation, & was found in the Month of June or July last, by the Kaskaskia Indians, who was out upon a Praire a Hunting about one hundred Miles from

the Village of Kaskaskia. Said Negroe was then almost Dead; had no arms with him of any kind, but a knife & that a bad one. Upon his being brought to me by the Aforesaid Indians, he appear'd to have a Complaint in his throat which threatened his life. The Indians told me they Imagin'd it must have proceeded from his Eating a number of Rattle Snakes, the Small bones of which having Stuck in his throat, & being altogether Expos'd to the Inclemency of the Weather, I was therefore under the necessity of taking particular Care of him, with regard to Diet as well as Cloathing by which means I have almost restor'd to his wonted health. But notwithstanding this he Still Declares, that he'll Destroy himself shou'd he be sent back to the Plantation.—And Also Says—that the Indians that brought said Negroe to me, Demanded of me Four hundred Dollars. But since that time they have consented to take one hundred & Fifty Dollars, which Sum they now have of mine in their hands & do retain it on that acct. I therefore intend that said Negroe shall be sold at Publick Vendue for the benefit of the Plantation—this Mr. Bacon Agreed to. The Court adjourns till to morrow morning Nine of the Clock when all Parties with their Evidences will Attend."

"Wednesday September 26th 1770. The Court Pursuant to adjournment met this morning at Nine of the Clock, but cou'd not proceed to business, as Mr. Morgan & Evidences did not appear, therefore Adjourn'd till to morrow morning at Nine of the Clock, being Thursday the 27th of September."

"Thursday September the 27th 1770. The Court met this morning at nine of the Clock pursuant to adjournmt. Mr. Bacon deliverd a written paper to the Court which is herewith annex'd & which the Judge Advocate Read Publickly in Court, all Parties being Present. [as follows:]

"REPRESENTATIONS" BY MR. BACON.

"Gentlemen—With all defference and respect I must once more Entreat your forgiveness in observing that the pointing out the Bounds of Mr. Morgan's purchase of Seven Acres can have nothing to do with the nature of my Complaint. In the first place, there is no bounds mention'd in the Articles, and Mr. Morgan never pointed out this place to me before; had he told me to have Cultivated that Spot at first I shou'd Certainly have done it & not have thrown away my time & labour upon a place which at that Time at least did not belong to him, Notwithstanding this I again declare that he told me to built & Improve where I have.

"With respect to the General Charges of the Slave either of Fort Chartres or Kaskaskias I dont urge that as a matter of Consequence, tho Mr. Morgan is a great gainer thereby, I allude to Some Particular & Extraordinary ones, purchases made by that Gentleman.

"Mr. Tanley no doubt Charg'd me as he did other people & had a view naturally to the Interest of his Employers, he himslf cou'd reap no benefit thereby, In Short may it please this Honourable Court I have said & deliver'd in writing all that I have at present to Say upon the Subject, which you will no doubt take into your Consideration & Submit the Same to your Impartial Judgment. Concluding with this declaration that I shall Come To no Compromise with Mr. Morgan, who tho he pretends to Say he will yet make things Satisfactory, has as I have observ'd before put me off from time to time & abus'd me for Demands So Just and reasonable.

"With respect to the Indians owing Mr. Morgan Money I see no Reason why my property Shou'd Suffer in Securing it.

"One Frederick Dunfield a Butcher came from Mr. Morgan's to the plantation to kill some Oxen for me, &

told me that he had kill'd some Cattle for Mr. Morgan. I ask'd him where he got them, he told me from Beauvais, I ask'd him what Sort of Cattle they were, he told me that one was a very large Ox that had a piece of wood on his horns, & that the others was a Black Cow, & a black and white Cow,—About four or five months after I went Down to Settle with Mr. Morgan & in the Credit of his accot. I did not See the Above Cattle Enter'd, & then Immediately told him that he had not given me Credit for all the Cattle he had kil'd; he ask'd me what Cattle they were; I told him some of them he bought of Beauvais, he told me he had never kil'd one of them, I desird him to let Mr Brown go with me to Mr. Beauvais & perhaps they might know Something about them, which he did & they told him Mr. Morgan had kill'd the Ox with the wood on his horn, & as to the Cow or any more they knew nothing About; We went back to Mr. Morgan & told him what they had told us, upon that Mr. Morgan gave Credit for the Ox, & the Cow was Set down Stray'd.

"I am Gentlemen with many unfeign'd thanks for the trouble you have had in this Affair, with the utmost respect. Your most Oblig'd & most Obedt. humble Servant.

Sign'd RICHD. BACON."*

"In a Paper Deliver'd to the Court by Mr. Bacon the 25th Septemr. He there Complains of An Ox, which Mr. Morgan had Detain'd from him in the following words—'but what is most notorious is that he is now in Possession of An Ox Charg'd to the plantation last Year Among the Twenty Six head of Cattle which I receiv'd from Post St. Vincent, which as yet he has made no mention of to me, now if this is true, what woud Such a Clandestine Detention, Amount to in Any Other Man—and a Poor one too.'

* "The Copy of Representation of Matters Deliver'd to the Court the 27th September 1770. (Sign'd) Richard Bacon, No. 3."

"Question propos'd by the Court to Mr. Bacon:—'Did You Mr. Bacon point out the Ox Complain'd of? or Did you ever Demand him of Mr. Morgan?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'No,—I never did.'

"Court.—'Did you Mr. Bacon ever hear that Mr. Morgan used means or endeavour'd to use Means to Conceal this Ox from you?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'By no other way, than by what Mr. Elliott told me.'

"Court.—'Mr. Elliott please relate to the Court, what you know, Concerning the Ox Alluded to by Mr. Bacon, & which is now in Possession of Mr. Morgan?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'I went down by Mr. Morgans request to Kaskaskia to Look at some Cattle which Mr. Morgan propos'd Selling to me. Among the Cattle there was one which Mr. [Morgan] Excepted, as he said he Imagin'd he wou'd run away, as he had already made his Escape twice from [those] he had Appointed to drive him. Some little Time after I came home to my plantation, Mr. Bacon came there & Describ'd a Number of Cattle which he had lost, and amongst them One, very much like the Ox above excepted by Mr. Morgan, I told Mr. Bacon, that it was very probable, that this might be the Ox, Especially as Mr. Morgan excepted Selling of him. I also hear'd, but not from Mr. Morgan, that Mr. Morgan intended to kill Said Ox.'

"Court to Mr. Bacon.—'Did you Mr. Bacon, in Consequence of the Information given you by Mr. Elliott, go down to Kaskaskia to Inquire After this Ox of Mr. Morgan?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I went down to see if it was the Same Ox but did not Inquire after him.'

"Court.—'Where was the Ox when you saw him?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'He was in the Yard with the rest of the Cattle.'

"Court.—'Where do you apprehend, Mr. Bacon, the Ox was when you first went to look after him?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I don't know.'

"Court.—'What time of the day was it, when you first went to look After the Ox?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'It was about an hour and a half or two hours before Sun Set.'

"Court.—'When you knew the Ox to be yours, Mr. Bacon, why did you not demand him of Mr. Morgan?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'The Reason I did not demand him, was, that I had found Colonel Wilkins had ordered a Court of Inquiry to Sit to Settle matters between Mr. Morgan & me;'

"Mr. Morgan Address'd himself to the Court & Said, that when Ensign Hutchins & Ens. Richardson was at my house, at Kaskaskia, whither or not they think I took pains to Conceal that Ox; on the Contrary, if he was not always with the rest of the Cattle; and as he was a very Fat Ox, if all of us were not making remarks upon him?

"Ensign Hutchins, & Ens: Richardson, said—that they saw that Ox in Common with the others & that they were making Remarks with Mr. Morgan on his Fatness:—and Ens: Hutchins adds that he understood him to be a Run away, he (Ens: Hutchins) advis'd Mr. Morgan to kill him, as he was in such high Gondition. On which Mr. Morgan said he wou'd. Ens. Richardson observ'd that Mr. Morgan told him, he had made a Calculation, to find, if he cou'd be dispos'd of at Kaskaskia & Sent his Brother in Law Mr. Boynton to sound the Inclination of the French People —but as they were not dispos'd to Buy, was under the necessity of letting him Run."

Mr. Morgan observ'd to the Court, that on Mr. Bacon Delivering the Annex'd paper to the Court, wherein he Complains heavily of him (Mr. Morgan) Detaining the Ox in Question, he went down to Kaskaskia to Inquire into the Truth of it, he being entirely Ignorant of the matter, it being the first time that ever Mr. Bacon mention'd the

matter to him. Upon Inquiring of a French Man who brought him from Post St. Vincent, He found that the Ox had been deliver'd to Mr. Bacon at the Plantation; Mr. Morgan proceeds & Says—'I therefore intend to Sell him for the most I can get, or take him on my own Account & give the Plantation Credit for the Value.'

"Mr. Bacon to Mr. Brown.—'Did Mr. Brown never tell Mr. Morgan, that I had lost Cattle, & that they were Stray'd to Post St. Vincent?'

"Mr. Brown.—'I told Mr. Morgan, that Mr. Bacon had lost Seven or Eight Cattle, out of the Twenty Six head of Cattle he had receiv'd from Post St. Vincent & Several Others.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Whether you Mr. Brown did not tell me, that this very Ox in Question had Stray'd to Post St. Vincent?'

"Mr. Brown.—'I do not remember [that] I did. I did not particularize any Ox.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'What is the reason, Mr. Morgan, on your Receiving the last drove of Cattle from Post St. Vincent you did not acquaint me of it particularly, when you knew you had receiv'd all the Cattle but four that were Missing?'

"Mr. Morgan.—'I Knew that you Mr. Bacon cou'd be no Stranger to their Arrival, as it was Notorious, thro the Country, Also I had Seen Mr. Bacon Viewing of the Cattle on Saturday the 22d Instant, which was the first time I had Seen Mr. Bacon after their Arrival.'

"Mr. Bacon to Mr. Elliott.—'Did I not tell you Mr. Elliott, that I had lost Several Cattle, & that I heard one of them had Stray'd to Post St. Vincent?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'Yes, you did tell me so.'

"Mr. Bacon to Anto. Renaue.—'How many head of Cattle was it, that Mr. Morgan Order'd you to bring from Post St. Vincent, the last time you went there?'

"Anto: Renaue.—'I had orders from Mr. Morgan, to

bring all the Cattle I cou'd find of His. I found Ten which I brought & heard that four had died.'

"Bacon.—'Did you understand that Fourteen Cattle was all that Mr. Morgan had at Post St. Vincent?'

"Anto: Renaue.—'I understood from the people that deliver'd them to me that Mr. Morgan had no more than fourteen head of Cattle at Post St. Vincent. One of the Ten above mention'd was Drown'd in Crossing the Kaskaskia River.'

"Mr. Bacon to Mr. Morgan.—'Did you Mr. Morgan never hear, or receive any Account of the Two Cows Charg'd to the plantation, which you bought from Madam Nichola?'

"Mr. Morgan.—'I Dont Recollect I ever did, but it shall be Enquir'd into & Justice done.'

"Mr. Bacon to Antoine LaSourse.—'What Value do you put on the two Oxen, Two Horses, & one Cart & Gears; at the time that Mr. Morgan made the Exchange with you for a Negroe?'

"Monsr. LaSourse.—'I fix'd no particular Value on the Two Oxen, Two Horses, & Cart & Gears. But Excang'd them with Mr. Morgan for a Negroe, which negroe I had my Choice of from four or five, or more.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Did you Monsr. LaSourse look upon the Negroe you Receiv'd from Mr. Morgan, to be a Sound Negroe, & in health, & worth Eighteen hundred Livres?'

"Monsr. LaSourse.—'I had him Examin'd by Monsr. Bluen. I look'd upon him as a Sound good Negroe, and well worth Eighteen hundred Livres, as Negroes Commonly Sold at that time for Two Thousand Livres.'

"Mr. Morgan to La Sourse.—'Please relate to the Court Monsr. La Sourse, how this Negroe turn'd out, and how you are now pleas'd with him?'

"Monsr. La Sourse.—'I never wou'd desire a better Negroe than he has turn'd out to be, and am now Ex-

treamly well pleas'd with the bargain I made with Mr. Morgan.'

"Mr. Bacon to Monsr. La Sourse.—'What Age was the Cattle, and what did you value them at, that Mr. Morgan got from you for the Negroe?'

"Monsr. La Sourse.—'I Cannot put A Value upon them at this Time as I put no value upon them at the Time I agreed with Mr. Morgan. I Exchang'd them for a Negroe with Mr. Morgan which he likewise set no Value Upon. The Cattle was between three & four years old.'

"Mr. Bacon to Mons. La Sourse.—'Did you not Monsr. La Sourse pay Mr. Morgan some difference regarding the Exchange you made with him for the Negroe?'

"Monsr. La Sourse.—'No. Nothing at all. But on the Contrary Mr. Morgan gave me One Hundred & Fifteen Livres & a Side of Tanned Leather Value Thirty Livres.'

"This appears to be a very just & Impartial Account of the matter, as appears by Mr. Morgan's Books, also by a Bill of Sale & Receipt which is as follows:

"'I Certify that I have Bought & Receiv'd of Monsr. Antoine La Sourse Two Oxen, Two Horses with a Cart & Gears, for which I have paid and deliverd to him one Male Negroe & one hundred & Fifteen Livres on account. 30th April 1768. GEO. MORGAN.'

"By a Paper deliver'd to the Court this morning which is herewith Annex'd, & which was Publickly Read by the Judge Advocate, All Parties being present; Mr. Bacon there Says—'Mr. Morgan, who, tho he pretends to say, he will yet make things Satisfactory, has as I have observ'd before, put me off from time to time and Abus'd me for Demands so Just and Reasonable.' Three letters being produc'd in Court by Mr. Bacon, Wrote to him by Mr. Morgan. Said Letters by the request of Mr. Bacon were Publickly read in Court by the Judge Advocate. It appear'd to the Court that they abounded with the most

wholesome & Good advice to Mr. Bacon; and Clearly indicated that Mr. Morgan wish'd to Settle the Plantation Accots. with him as soon as Possible.

"Mr. Morgan inform'd the Court that Mr. Elliott was present when he Impress'd a Settlement of Accounts with Mr. Bacon, & desir'd that Mr. Elliott wou'd relate to the Court what he heard pass between them—Mr. Morgan & Mr. Bacon.

"Mr. Elliott Says, that he was at Mr. Bacon's one Evening with Mr. Morgan, about three weeks or a month after he arriv'd in this Country. He heard Mr. Morgan and Mr. Bacon talking about the Cattle they had lost, & that Mr. Morgan Said to Mr. Bacon, that he shou'd not be Easy, before he knew how the Accounts of the Plantation stood. Mr. Elliott adds, that he told Mr. Bacon, that he heard Mr. Morgan Say, that if any of the Articles in the Accounts between Mr. Bacon & him were overcharg'd, he shoud be very happy to rectify them, and make every allowance to Mr. Bacon that was reasonable. The Court adjourns on Acct. of Ens. Conolly being taken Sick, till nine oclock to morrow morning."

"Friday the 20th September 1770. The Court met agreeable to adjournment & on account of some of the Members being Sick, The Court is adjourn'd till Monday next the 1st of October, when they will meet at nine of the Clock."

"Monday the 1st of October 1770. The Court met this day pursuant to adjournment at 9 of the Clock. Mr. Bacon Observ'd to the Court that in Consequence of a Letter he had receiv'd from Mr. Morgan, desiring him (Mr. Bacon) to send Mr. Morgan, an Exact State of the Stock, utensils of Husbandry &c; on the plantation:—That he (Mr. Bacon) on Receiving said Letter did send an Inventory of every thing on the plantation about Six Weeks ago; and that he went sometime afterwards on

purpose to obtain a Settlem't with Mr. Morgan, but coud not accomplish it.

"Mr. Morgan says in answer to what Mr. Bacon hath above asserted, That Mr. Bacon did come down to Kaskaskia, but he never Asked or Demanded A Settlement with him.

"Mr. Bacon to Mr. Elliott.—'Did not you understand that when you and I went down to Kaskaskia, about three weeks or a month ago, that I went on purpose to Settle Accots. with Mr. Morgan?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'I heard you Say so. But at the Same time I understood from Mr. Morgan, that you ask'd nor demanded no Settlement with him.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Did you Mr. Elliott hear Mr. Bacon request to Settle Accots. with me?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'I did not.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Did I not Mr. Bacon on or about the 12th of September last ask you whether or not you had brought your Books or accounts in order to have a Settlement?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'You did, the day after I lodged my Complaint with Colo. Wilkins, I at the same time told you that I did not think it worth my while to bring the accounts down, having used me so ill Some time before.'

"Mr. Bacon to Mr. Elliott.—'Do you not think it is of great prejudice to me, that you are Settled so near me?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'I Dont think that I can be of the least prejudice to you unless the land I am Settled upon belongs to your Plantation.—if this is the Case I must be of great prejudice to you.'

"Bacon to Elliott.—'Did you not hear Mr. Morgan ask me where his land terminated towards the East, in the Grand Prairie?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'I heard Mr. Morgan ask Mr. Bacon where the bounds of the land was, but whither Mr. Morgan said

our Lands, or his Lands, I cannot Recollect. Mr. Bacon pointed to a bunch of Trees, which stands in the Grand Prairie, and said that was the place which you (meaning Mr. Morgan) told me was the Boundaries on that quarter sometime before.'

"Mr. Morgan Observes to the Court that the Bunch of Trees which Mr. Bacon alludes to, is the Estern Boundary of his Second Purchase.

"Mr. Morgan produc'd to the Court a Recorded Deed Dated the 10th of March 1760, for the plantation on which he Settled Mr. Bacon; by which it appears that said plantation contains no more than Seven Square Acres in Front.

"Mr. Bacon being ask'd by the Court, whether he had any more questions to propose, or any more Evidences to Examine—Answd: he had not.

"Mr. Morgan to Mr. Elliott.—'Did I not express my Surprise at Mr. Bacon, for Building his Barn where he has, during my Absence, the first time you & I went to the Plantation, after our Arrival in the Illinois?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'You did, and also said, that Mr. Bacon must put a Value upon the Improvements, as that was the Land you intended to Settle me upon.'

"Mr. Morgan Desires that the Court will allow Mr. Elliott to relate, what Mr. Bacon told him relative to what a Certain Gentleman told Mr. Bacon about Mr. Morgan bringing him (Mr. Elliott) to this Country on purpose to Enslave him, as well as he had already done Mr. Bacon; & if said, Certain Gentleman had not declar'd, that neither he [Mr. Bacon] nor Mr. Elliott wou'd ever get a Six pence for their Labour; and also what Proposals you receiv'd from said Certain Gentleman, by Mr. Bacon.

"Mr. Elliott.—'Sometime after I came to this Country, I happen'd to Call upon Mr. Bacon. Walking with him in the Garden Mr. Bacon told me that Mr. Rumsey had been

with him sometime before, & told him that he wou'd not make so much of the Plantation as he might Imagine—that when his accounts came to be Settled, that he wou'd have but a very Small Balance to receive &c; Mr. Bacon told me that Mr. Rumsey had Enquir'd of him on what Terms I was Settled on the Lands I now Occupy. Mr. Bacon told him he did not know, Mr. Rumsey answd. that Mr. Morgan's Intention was only to get Some Work out of me, and that was all I need to Expect. Mr. Bacon at the same time Seem'd to think, that what Mr. Rumsey might have said, might be merely out of Pique or resentment to Mr. Morgan, as he was Informd they had, had some Difference sometime before.'

"'Mr. Bacon & I had a good deal of discourse concerning this matter, & mutually agreed not to pay attention to Such reports, till we had some more substantial proofs of Mr. Morgan's Designs against us: Mr. Elliott also Says that about two weeks ago Mr. Bacon Came to him, with a Verbal message from Colonel Wilkins—telling him that Colo. Wilkins desir'd I woud leave the Plantation Immediately, Mr. Morgan having no right to Settle me thereon. I had not an Oportunity of waiting immediately on Colonel Wilkins. Mr. Bacon Came to me too days after, & told me that he had come with a Second Verbal message from Colo. Wilkins & that the Colonel desir'd him to tell me, that he had done me the honour to warn me A Second time, to leave the Plantation; and that If I did not remove Instantly, he (the Colonel) wou'd send a party of Soldiers & take what property I had from me. Mr. Bacon likewise told me, that he had Seen an Order in writing from Colonel Wilkins in the Possession of Mr. Rumsey to turn me off said Plantation. Mr. Bacon also told me a few days before that he had seen a permission in writing that Colo. Wilkins had given to Mr. Rumsey, Sign'd by the Colo's. own hand, giving him full possession of the Lands I am

now Settled upon—And that this permission extended to A Run about half a mile East from where I am Settled, to another Run, on the west of where Mr. Bacon lives, on the Land towards the Back of the Roches. I asked Mr. Bacon if he was Certain of this. He answerd me—that he was Very Certain, for he had the permission in his hand [writing] & that he read it.'

"'Mr. Bacon likewise acquainted me that Mr. Rumsey had asked of him, if ever he had told me, that he (Mr. Rumsey) was in possession of Such an Order or Permission. Mr. Bacon told Mr. Rumsey that he had not Spoke to me About it. Mr. Rumsey then told Mr. Bacon that he might tell me, that he (Mr. Rumsey) had such an Order, or Permission in his possession. Mr. Rumsey at the same time it seems Express'd his Concern for my being put to So much Inconvenience & Distress, & said that he wou'd do me the favour to Apply to Colonel Wilkins for any Tract of Land that was not already possessed; and that as I had Come into the Country, on purpose to Settle, that he wou'd furnish me with money, or any Necessarys that I requir'd till Such Time as I cou'd Conveniently pay him.'

"Mr. Morgan to Mr. Elliott.—'Was this proposal made by Mr. Rumsey, thro the Channel of Mr. Bacon, Since Mr. Bacon Lodged the Camplaint Against me with Colonel Wilkins?'

"Mr. Elliott.—'Yes—I understood that Mr. Bacon had Lodged a Complaint against you with Colonel Wilkins.'

"Mr. Bacon, Observ'd to the Court, that after he had deliver'd the Colonel's Letter to Mr. Morgan at Kaskaskia, In Returning from hence he met Mr. Elliott, after having some Conversation together Concerning Colo. Wilkins's turning him off the Plantation &c; He told Mr. Elliott, that Mr. Rumsey had a Plantation, and that he des'rd to say that Mr. Rumsey would Settle him upon it; or if he wou'd apply to Colonel Wilkins he made no doubt that

Colo. Wilkins wou'd. Mr. Bacon denys that he ever told Mr. Elliott that he Saw an Order from Colonel Wilkins giving Mr. Rumsey Possession of said Land; But that Mr. Rumsey told him he had an order from Colo. Wilkins to take Possession of the Lands Mr. Elliott is now Settled upon.

"Mr. Morgan Observes to the Court, that as Mr. Bacon, has given it under his hand, that he will come to no Compromise with him, and has also verbally declar'd, that if he did not obtain the Satisfaction he wish'd for, from this Court, he wou'd make the most he cou'd by the Plantation, & leave every thing in such a Huggermugger way, that He (Mr. Morgan) wou'd never be able to make anything by it. He therefore humbly presumes to hope, that this Court will Oblige Mr. Bacon to find some kind of Security for the true Performance of his Agreement with him, as pr. Annex'd Articles of Agreement.

"Mr. Bacon Denies saying that he wou'd leave the plantation in the bad way represented above, or in any other way.

"Mr. Morgan Desires that Ens: Hutchins will relate to the Court, what he heard Mr. Bacon Say, when he (Mr. Morgan) propos'd to him, to Appoint Two Gentlemen to Settle their Affairs, and that he, (Mr. Morgan) wou'd go to any place Mr. Bacon wou'd Appoint, and take his Books along with him.

"Mr. Hutchins Informs the Court that he heard Mr. Bacon Say that he wou'd leave it to no other Person but Colonel Wilkins. Mr. Morgan said it was very well, & that he wou'd Refer to the Articles of Agreement which was very Clear. Upon which Mr. Bacon reply'd—'Is that the way you intend to Come Over me?' Upon which Mr. Morgan, said, that he Imagin'd, the Phrase had its Derivation from New England being both uncommon & ungenteel.

"Mr. Morgan Observes to the Court, that as Mr. Bacon has denied Some things which he has related to the Court particularly with respect to his leaving the plantation, hop'd the Court wou'd allow Mr. Elliott to point out where he has Erred.

"Mr. Elliott declares that as him and Mr. Bacon were riding together, that Mr. Bacon did then Say, that he wou'd make what he Cou'd by the plantation & leave every thing in a Huggermugger Way. Mr. Morgan being on his Defence, says that he went to the Plantation with Mr. Windsor Brown and Mr. Patrick Kennedy (they both speaking French) to get the French People, from whom he purchas'd the Lands, to point out the Boundaries of said Lands. Monsr. Louviere from whose father I purchas'd the Tract of Land on which M. Bacon is now Settled, and for which Land I have produc'd Monsr. Louveire's Deed Dated the 10th March 1768 pointed the Boundaries out to us. It begins at the point of A Roche, where hath been a Lime Kiln — a few Perches from the west side of a Run of water, that you Cross in Entering the Grand Prairie going From Fort Chartres to Kaskaskia. Mons. Louveire Pointed, and said, it was from thence towards the East Roche Six or Seven Acres in Front, and that the same Extended from those Roches Southward to the Mississippi. He then went to Shew us how far the Seven Acres did Extend, and took us to a lane or Passage, which Mr. Bacon had left between Two Corn Fields, & said that there, or thereabout, was the Boundary which his Father had Shewn to him. Monsr. Boutelet also went with us, and informed us that the land which he sold to me, (agreeable to the Deed which I have already Shown to the Court, Dated the 15th March 1769,) began where Monsr. Louveire's Land Ended, at a run Eastward Six Acres in Front, & Shew'd us a white Elm Tree as his Eastern Boundary.

"Mr. Brown, being Call'd upon by the Court, perfectly

Corroborates with Mr. Morgan, in every thing he has asserted respecting the Boundaries of The Plantation.

"Mr. Morgan, proceeds and Says, that he then got Mr. James Elliott and Mr. Patrick Kennedy to measure the Distance from the first mention'd Lime Kiln to the lane pointed out by Monsr. Louveire, as the Boundaries of the Plantation purchas'd from his Father. Those Gentlemen Inform'd me, that the Distance was exactly Ninety Six Perches; and from thence to the white Elm Tree, pointed out by Monsr. Boutelet, as the Eastern Boundary of the Plantation Purchas'd from him was Fifty Eight Perches; within this last Boundary about Thirty two Perches East of the Lane Mr. Bacon has built his Barn.

"Mr. Elliott, as one of the People that measur'd the Land, Declar'd that every thing that Mr. Morgan had related to the Court with regard to the measurement was Strictly true. The Court adjourns till to morrow at 9 of the Clock when all Parties will Attend."

"Tuesday 2d October 1770. The Court met this morning at nine of the Clock in the morning Pursuant to Adjournment.

"Mr. Morgan, Produc'd to the Court the Accounts of the Plantation, Some of the Articles of which Mr. Bacon & him had mutually Agreed upon; others Mr. Bacon not being fully Satisfied about, Mr. Morgan thereupon Deliver'd the Accounts to Mr. Bacon, & gave him three months or what time he pleas'd to make his objections, & said that Notwithstanding it is left to the Court to Settle our matters, yet if any thing shou'd escape the Notice of the Court, it shou'd be hereafter rectify'd to Mr. Bacon's Satisfaction.

"Mr. Bacon Objected to the Articles of Rum, Sugar & Tea, being Charg'd to his Private Account, he thinking those Articles shou'd be Charg'd to his Publick or Plantation account.

"Mr. Morgan says he never promis'd Mr. Bacon any Allowance of Rum, neither does it appear by the Articles of Agreement that Mr. Bacon is entitled to any Allowance. But Mr. Morgan Says if Mr. Bacon has given any of the Rum expended at the Plantation for the use of Carrying on the plantation business, he with Cheerfulness will Allow it.

"The Court is of Opinion that Tea, Sugar, & Coffee, shall be Charg'd to Mr. Bacon's private account, and that such part of the Rum as appears to be Expended for the benefit of the Plantation, shall be Charg'd to that account.

"Mr. Morgan, after having Examined what Evidences he thought necessary, Deliver'd to the Court his Defence in writing which was Publickly Read by the Judge Advocate, & which is herewith Annex'd.

Sign'd ALEXR. FOWLER, Lieut:
Acting Deputy Judge Advocate."

"In Consequence of an order from Colonel John Wilkins directing us to enquire into the affair of Mr. Richard Bacon, and George Morgan Esqr. the Court accordingly proceeded to Enquire into the many different Charges Exhibited by Mr. Bacon against Mr. Morgan; and after hearing every matter of Charge, Set forth by the Complainant, as well as Examining the Witnesses he Call'd upon to Support his Charges; and hearing what Mr. Morgan (the Defendant) had to offer in his Defense; and having well weigh'd and maturely Consider'd the Same, do think, & are unanimously of Opinion, that Mr. Bacon's Grievances seems to be altogether Ideal; that his Charges in General are of a Litigious & Captious Birth, and are by no means Supported; and that his Allegations, are altogether Scandalous, Groundless & malicious; and do therefore most honourably Acquit Mr. Morgan of all & every part thereof.

"And he is hereby most honourably Acquitted Accordingly.

"[Sign'd] ALEX: FOWLER,	LEWIS WYNNE, Lt. Presdt:	
Lt. 10th or Royal Irish Reg't:	ALEXR. FOWLER, Lt.	Members.
Acting Deputy Judge	THOS. HUTCHINS, Ensn:	
Advocate Signd	WM. RICHARDSON, Ensn:	
	WM. CONOLLY, Ensn:"*	

The court, evidently from the beginning, ruled in favor of the defendant, Morgan, but the complainant, did not relinquish all hope of at least a partial redress of his grievances until on October 2, when the conclusion was reached and published which pronounced his complaint "altogether ideal." This was too much, and he forthwith filed his petition with the commandant for a rehearing. Whether it grew out of the present controversy or other disturbing causes, the former friendly relations existing between Colonel Wilkins and George Morgan were now undoubtedly strained. However this may have been, a new hearing was accorded Bacon and the court of enquiry was reconvened for a revision of its judgment—the colonel calling attention in their order to points in the evidence in the complainant's favor which had not received, in his judgment, their due weight or had been overlooked by the court. The comments by the colonel, and the answers thereto, make very refreshing reading:

COPY OF APPLICATION FOR A NEW HEARING.

"To John Wilkins Esqr., Lieut. Colo. of His Majesty's 18th or Royal Regiment of Ireland Governour & Commandant of the Illinois & its Dependancies:

"The Remonstrance of Richd. Bacon Inhabitant, Humbly Sheweth, That Impressd with the deepest sense of Gratitude & respect, for your kind acquiesance in Granting

* Endorsed:—"Minutes & Sentence of a Court of Enquiry on Geo: Morgan Esqr. & Richard Bacon, Commencing the 24th September 1770 & Ending 4th October following. Fort Chartres in the Country of the Illinois."

him an Examination into the Grievances pointed out in his Petition of Septr. 1770 against Mr. Morgan; he is Encourag'd to address you by the same means with respect to the proceedings of the Court Order'd & the Surprize with which he is Struck at the nature of the Sentence or Opinion. What I have said, pointed out, & which by the proceedings Deliver'd, Sir (a perusal of which you have at my request Granted), are not disprov'd, must in my poor Opinion, render an unanimous acquital of all & every part of that Gentleman's Conduct, Surprising; abstracted from the other part, wherein notwithstanding I have absolutely deny'd myself to have been advis'd, the Letigious & Captious Birth of my Complaints, alluding to a third person, are Call'd malicious, Groundless, & Ideal. For which reason, as I am Conscious to myself, I Can yet prove many of my Assertions (tho not already done to the Satisfaction of my Judges). I Humbly beg leave to appeal to your Judgmt: from the said Sentence or Opinion; & that this may not appear an unreasonable demand, I hope the following reasons will render such request no more than just & equitable, & what I am bound to do in order to Exculpate myself from the reflections Cast upon my Character, as well as to do Justice to a third person who has been Vilely tho indirectly traduced by Mr. Morgan during the whole Course of the Procedure. In the first place, why this Shooting in the Dark at a person entirely unconcern'd with the matters in question, Should be admitted I must own I am not Capable of resolving. However there is such a Stress thro the whole part thereof upon this adviser of mine that I Cannot help observing, It is very little to the purpose whether I had or had not an adviser, or on the other whether it was Mr. Rumsey or any other person, all I Contend for is this, that I am now, was & ever shall be Sensible of the Injuries I have Suffer'd & do for myself most religiously declare what must be evident from the

Nature of my Complaints, that they Cou'd proceed from no other Person but myself.

"The Second remark which I most humbly Submit to your better Judgment is that pursuant to the very Tenour, Style & Nature of my aforesaid Petition is, that instead of Sticking to the Charge therein represented, Mr. Morgan has Enter'd into matters entirely foreign to the purpose, & by a useless Display of a multiplicity of Books & papers has occasion'd a Letigious Enquiry into matters that by no means set aside the facts I have exhibited which was a Breach of our Articles of Agreement, and was not attended to (nor does the same appear but where they Lean'd to Mr. Morgan's favour, allso the personal abuse which Can be prov'd to this moment tho he avoids the latter only by an insidious Expression against a third person at my Expence) by Changing the mode of Expression against the Still Certain Gentleman whom he is ready to make oath of, never hinted to him any thing of the kind.

"The breach of Articles is I think Still Clear & demonstrative, therefore I most humbly Entreat you Sir to Examine the Same, & Judge whether or not by the Articles & the Charges (as yet unprov'd) which I deliver'd in, if I am not Injur'd by the Settlement of Mr. Elliott as well as the Encouragement given to him in Opposition to me,—who by the Tenour & meaning of the Same Cannot but be Injur'd by the Encroachment Support & Vicinity of Another.

"Is it not the business of the person Accus'd Sir to disprove the allegations Exhibited against him by Something more than mere Declaration (even frequently faultring) and is it not necessary that some Evidences at least shou'd entirely disprove particular Charges laid against him?

"The Article of the Ox & Cow bought of Mŏnsr. Bĕauvais which he kil'd & did not Credit the plantation for at that time, and my remark allso for the Cows taken for his

own use will Certainly render all my Charges not merely Ideal—neither do I see any thing therein which can merit alltogether the Opinion of a malicious & Groundless Charge.

"I had indeed many other things to relate but was so often reprov'd & told that every thing was going against me; that in absolute despair of doing myself Justice I forbore. In short I was prejudic'd disheartened & was resolv'd to give up all hopes when I waited upon you & acquaint'd your honour with the Terms in which I was address'd. Submission & Respect Govern'd me in all my Actions, But I found that to Exhibit Severe Charges (tho Facts) against so powerful an antagonist was Construed in another light.

"Fourthly, In allusion to the latter part, I must now beg leave to mention the Affair of the Ox—said by me to be a notorious & present detention; with my remarks thereon which gave so much offence that I was told even by one of the Judges, was a matter if not prov'd that merited the Consequences of a Civil Law Suite, upon which I made my bow, and do with the same Submission & respect Appeal to your Judgement whether or not that matter is Clearly disprov'd. Look I beseech you, Sir, to the Evidence in favor of Mr. Morgan, his Answer—How Vague & Inconclusive.

"The Evidence of Mr. Brown is particularly worthy your Impartial Observations in many respect, his positive declaration respecting the Entries more so, that Gentleman as I observ'd to you with Mr. McFee were openly in the most derisive manner exulting in every little piece of wit, which appear'd to them, so Extreamly Severe & pointed, & Exasperated me frequently in such a manner that I was much Confus'd upon the Occasion.

"I forgot to mention that La Sourse the Frenchman Call'd upon by Mr. Morgan as an Evidence respecting the

Negro given for the Cart Oxen & horses, after he left the Court told Mr. Kennedy that the Negro was Sick & among the remains of the Cargo, & Mr. Elliott himself, tho admitted as an Evidence notwithstanding a party Concern'd, declar'd to me before the same person that he could not but acknowledge he was a prejudice to me in his being Settled on that Land for many reasons which he gave at the same time, & Concluded by Saying that I Cou'd not blame him for it. This last Gentleman's Evidence Respecting a message he declar'd I deliver'd him from Mr. Rumsey is in every Part false, Infamous & Groundless, that Gentleman never having mention'd a thing of the kind, but what is that to the purpose, had it even been true it Cou'd have no kind of Effect with respect to my Complaint of Mr. Morgan; the papers I deliver'd to the Court plainly Shew that I want nothing but what is reasonable.

"Fifthly, with respect to the Local Situation of this Plantation or the other, what Can it avail? I have Cultivated the land Shewn to me, Mr. Morgan acknowledges I have been Industrious & have done my Duty untill Latterly & I lay no Claim to any land whatsoever. By my Articles of Agreement I Cede all right & Title thereto in Consideration of promis'd matters not Complied with. I ask no more than to be quit with him, & rely'd on the Judgment of the Court for what they shou'd Esteem with your Approbation Equivalent for my Labours. Mr. Morgan falls into Invectives reflects upon my Poverty (which I Imagine Cannot Effect the honesty of any man) and tho he declares I have wrote him many Insolent Letters, desir'd by me to be produc'd to ye Court, Answers—that he had made a very dirty use of them, at the Same time takes notice of a new English Expression, by no means so becoming in my opinion. In his defence which is the last matter I shall touch upon, he begins, Continues, & ends with Scurrility upon a Certain Gentleman, mentions

a matter of some Garden Seeds, Surveying of different Lots, & Concludes, by taking it for Granted that he is entirely acquitted; that I act only from the Spleen & malice of another, & every body seems Surpriz'd that I shou'd not make it up, Condemn the only man who look'd upon me, and become the basest of mankind by a Step, that must render me unworthy of your Protection.

"Therefore most Humbly entreat you to give me a Hearing yourself, or by some other means prevent my Ruin. And your Petitioner as in Duty bound will Ever pray. (Signd) RICHD. BACON.

"I Forgot to mention a number of Cattle Charg'd to the plantation which was never Deliver'd, which was never taken notice of. Mr. Morgan Slept allso every night in the room of one of the Gentlemen of the Court."*

ORDER FOR A REHEARING.

"FORT CHARTRES, 16th October, 1776.

"Gentlemen of the Court of Enquiry—Whereas an appeal from the Opinion of A late Court of Enquiry Order'd to Examine into some Charges preferr'd Against Geo: Morgan Esqr. by Richard Bacon, has been deliver'd to me by the latter Setting Forth the reasons for such a demand, which reasons in my Opinion are neither frivelous nor malicious but of a very Clear & equitable nature, I am therefore Extreamly Sorry to find it absolutely necessary to Order a Revisal of the said proceedings & that they abide by the Charges Exhibited; instead of which it is obvious that Mr. Morgan by a useless display of a number of Books and papers has not only taken up the Time of the Court by an unnecessary enquiry into matters foreign from the purpose, but by that means allso Eluded in a great measure the Facts Exhibited. It does not appear

* Endorsed:—"Richard Bacon's Appeal, No. 6."

even by the proceedings that Mr. Morgan has Clearly disprov'd many things laid to his Charge, and the whole Tenour of his Style is nothing but a piece of Scurrility and invective against a third Person.

"The Indecency of Mr. Brown & Mr. McFee was not unnotic'd, neither has it pass unobserv'd by Mr. Bacon. Even the appearance of a partial Indulgence shou'd be avoided, then Mr. Bacon wou'd have less Cause to Complain.

"As the man Justly Observes what Signifies the local Situation of the plantation, he cultivated the Land Shewn him, Claims none as his property, but Conceiving an Evident Breach of Articles in the Settlement & Encouragement of another man just under his Nose, he applys for Justice and Submits his Case to the Court promising to abide by any Sum they with my approbation shou'd think equivalent for his Labour, adding thereto only the abuse which he said he receiv'd from Mr. Morgan both of which Circumstances Clearly appear.

"The appeal will be read by the President or Deputy Judge Advocate & Return'd to me with all the Original Papers refer'd to in said proceedings, and Exact Copies of the Deeds and Titles therein mention'd. I shall hereunto Annex'd Show you my Observations on each Page of the Courts proceedings only, and must request and order that you give me your answers thereto, opposite to the observations on each Page.

"I am Sorry the Court had so much Trouble in this Affair and that a Revisal of the proceedings will add thereto, I must recommend it to them to be particularly Attentive to Each Charge, and my Observations on the proceedings allready given in.

"I Did not intend to have Examin'd further into this Dispute, than what Appear'd in the proceedings of the Court from the 24th Septem'r to the 4th October 1770,

But have Since, perus'd the papers Deliver'd to the Court by Mr. Bacon, marked No. 1. 2. & 3, & which in my Opinion are absolutely necessary to be attended to, more minutely than they seem to have been; I have allso perus'd the Articles of Agreement at least a Copy thereoff; & by which it appears A Copartnership; and in the 4th Article of said Agreement Mr. Bacon was to be furnis'd what he requested as necessary to forward their mutual Interest for Seven Years. Was it not then Equitable that Bacon shou'd have been Consulted in the Sums laid out? Otherwise at the Closing of Accounts, one party might be great Gainers, and the other little the better after seven years Service; It is my Duty to Give my Opinion on those matters & yours to weigh every Circumstance, that your Opinion & Judgement may Determine the affair to the Satisfaction of both parties at least that there may be no Cause of further Complaint. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient & Humble Servant.

"To Lt: Wynne Presidt: (Signd) JNO. WILKINS,
& the Members of a Court of Enquiry. Lt. Colonel."

Observations* by Colonel Wilkins.—"(Page 1) I have to observe from the 1st to the 3d Page of the proceedings, that Bacon in answer to Mr. Morgan declares that Elliott has Settled on a place which Bacon had Clear'd & improv'd ([p.] 2) that and a Spring &c., &c., and taken from him a Shade [shed] built by Bacon. Was Bacon to Consult Mr. Morgan about Building said Shade or ([page] 3) making Improvements; if so, why [should] not Mr. Morgan take Bacon's Opinion in the vast Sums laid out; their obligations in the Agreement Seem mutual?

Court's Answer.—"It appears to the Court, that the only Improvements made by Bacon, on the land on which

* These observations of Col. Wilkins are written on one-half of the page and the answers by the court on the other.

Mr. Elliott has lately Settled, was an old Shade, for which Mr. Morgan offers to pay him, which offer the Court look upon as a Great Indulgence, as Mr. Bacon ought to have Consulted Mr. Morgan (to whom the land belong'd) before he built that Shade, as a Coursory Leave to improve was by no means a Sufficient Title, for him to go build a Shade. The Court think that Mr. Morgan might with propriety purchase Cattle, without Consulting Bacon, as Mr. Morgan advanc'd the money, was more in the way of making Cheap purchases, which as a Party Concern'd it is to be Suppos'd he wou'd do. It also appears by the last article of their Agreement that there was no Compulsion upon Bacon to take Cattle, he did not approve of. Their obligations are so far mutual that they are both to Act for the Advantage of the Plantation. The part of the Company is to advance all monies & to purchase, what may be necessary. That of Bacon's to labour, Oversee, Negroes &c., &c.; in Short to do every thing necessary for the benefit of the Farm. If there was any Benefit (which Mr. Bacon wou'd insinuate) to arise in purchasing Cattle; which cou'd only proceed from his purchasing with merchandize, The Court are of Opinion it ought to belong to Mr. Morgan & Co., as some Equivalent for ye Interest of the large Sums of money they have laid out, without having any Security on the part of Bacon.

Col. W.—"(Page 4.) The Court Seem to have had Enough of That Charge.

Ans.—"It appears by the minutes of the Proceedings that the Court (as Colonel Wilkins very justly observes) was fully Satisfied of this Charge, as well as the Generality of Bacon's Charges, as appears very obvious by refering to their Opinion, the 4th Octr. Inst:

Col. W.—Page "5. And begins on the Personal Abuse in which Page Mr. Morgan is pleas'd to Address the Court & Concludes with bad Language of a Certain Gentleman not Named.

Ans.—"As the Charge in the 5 fo:, is not at all Supported by Mr. Bacon, it was Impossible for the Court to pronounce Mr. Morgan Culpable, and if any man Cou'd be so base as to accuse another falsely, he Certainly ought to be told of it, in Language Suitable to his Deserts.

Col. W.—Page "(6). The Court are amus'd with Mr. Morgan's Books & then Adjourn'd in order to give Mr. Bacon & his friends time to recollect themselves.

Ans.—"The Court did inspect Mr. Morgan's Books, as they thought it highly necessary, in order to assist them in making a proper Enquiry. They then adjourn'd as a great indulgence to Mr. Bacon, as they thought both himself and Friends had need of recollection, they having that day made a very poor hand of their Prosecution. The Court allways find Amusement in doing Justice.

Col. W.—Page "(7.) The Court meet & Credit Mr. Bacon for an overcharge of 270 Livres. Mr. Morgan again Addresses the Court to Show that those Charges was made in his Absence; why [was] not the person Call'd on who made those Charges?

Ans.—"The Court after inspecting the accounts (which the Lt. Colonel is pleas'd to call an amusement) between Mr. Morgan & Company & Mr. Bacon, which amounted to upwards of 60,000 Livres, they found the Articles objected to by Bacon, did not amount to more than 270 Livres, which Sum Mr. Morgan did Credit Bacon with, sooner than take up the time of the Court in proving the Charges to be just. It appear'd plainly, the Charges were made in Mr. Morgan's absence & the hand writing of the person who made them so well known, that the Court thought his presence needless; & that it would be a restraint upon him to be in Company of one, with whom he was at Variance.

Col. W.—Page "(8.) Of Horses, Cart, &c; and 26 head of Cattle bought by Mr. Morgan, without consulting Mr.

Bacon, who was to be charg'd for those Articles as Observ'd on in Page 1 to 3?

Ans.—"Fully Answer'd in first observation—Mr. Bacon was not under the necessity of having any Concern with more Cattle, than was perfectly agreeable to himself—moreover, the Cattle that Bacon Complains of being Overcharg'd in, is allow'd by Mr. Winston & the Court, to be altogether Equitable & Reasonable—See p. 8 of the Proceedings.

Col. W.—Page "(9.) Mr. Winston declares that Bacon had Mr. Morgan's Permission to improve the Spring & Land Contiguous to the plantation. In this page the Court Credit Mr. Bacon for an overcharge of 37 Livres 10 Sols.

Ans.—"Allowing Mr. Morgan did give leave to Bacon, to improve the Spring, & the Land, Contiguous to the plantation, The Court are of opinion Mr. Morgan had it in his power, to recall that Permission, when he found Mr. Bacon's behaviour, no longer merited such indulgence. Lt. Colo. Wilkins has Certainly made a mistake in his observations on the last part of fo: 9 relative to a credit of 37 Livres 10 Sols as will appear by referring to fo: 9 & 10 of ye Proceedings.

Col. W.—Page "(10.) Mr. Brown I must confess has Carried his Fedility to Mr. Morgan a great length, I must however Observe thereon that his Oath Shall never be esteem'd A Sufficient voucher, for an Entry without proof of the delivery of any thing.

Ans.—"The Court think Mr. Brown has Acted with the Fidelity becoming every honest man, and as a Merchant's Book keeper's oath, all Over the world is Esteem'd a Sufficient voucher for the Books, it of Course must have the due weight with us.

Col. W.—Page "(11.) Of an address to the Court by Mr. Morgan concerning a negroe man, the affair Settled to Mr. Morgan's Content, but can it be reasonable that Bacon

or any other Person shou'd be answerable to Mr. Morgan for Charges he Chuses to make for what he says is given to Indians without the approbation of the party concern'd; but what has this long Story to do with Mr. Bacon's Complaint, was not the Negroe Equally Mr. Bacon's property? Query, was he detain'd or not?

Ans.—"It does not appear to the Court that Mr. Morgan, has charg'd Bacon any thing for Paying Indians for the Negroe, But are of Opinion, that in Case Mr. Morgan shou'd be under the necessity of paying 150 Dollars or any part thereof, that Mr. Bacon shou'd be Charg'd with his proportion of it. They think the long Story was very necessary to be attended to, in order to throw a proper light on Mr. Bacon's Complaint. The Negroe was not detain'd as it appears Clearly he refus'd to Return to Bacon, and declar'd shou'd there be any attempt made to force him, he was resolved to destroy himself. As to his being sold, that affair was Settled to their mutual Content, as appears by the 11th Line of fo: 12 of the Proceedings.

Col. W.—Pages "(12, 13, 14, 15, & 16.) Is taken up with the remarkable Ox in dispute, it would seem Strange that Mr. Morgan or his people shou'd go such Lengths, as to Confine & intended to kill the Ox if they did not know some history thereof. I had some talk with Lt. Chapman when at Kaskaskias of this remarkable fine Ox, and must desire that a Strict Enquiry may be made thereinto.

Ans.—"The Ox may be remarkable, but the Dispute is undoubtedly so, Strange as it may appear, we cannot think that Mr. Morgan Clandestinely detain'd the Ox, as is maliciously & Injuriously Alledg'd by Bacon, on the Contrary it appears by the very Evidence of Bonthorn, who Mr. Bacon Call'd on as an Evidence to Support his cause, that Mr. Morgan never so much as Disputed the remarkable ox with Bacon. Perhaps as Lt. Chapman knows Something of this Ox; it might have been necessary for the Court to have asked him a few questions.

Col. W.—Page "(16.) Two Cows are Demanded from Mr. Morgan who promised to do Justice.—See observation on Page 1 to 3 & page 8.

Ans.—"Mr. Morgan in presence of the Court, Promis'd that he wou'd Enquire after the Cows mention'd & do Justice; & they are of opinion, that nothing but his attention & time, being taken up, in attending this Court wou'd have prevented him from Performing his promise — See our answer to Observation on fo: 1 to 3 & fo: 8.

Col. W.—Page "(17.) As the Company and Bacon was in a mutual Agreement, how cou'd Mr. Morgan with propriety ascertain the price of the 2 Oxen, 2 Horses Cart & Gears, or the price of the Negroe (which did not belong to the Plantation) without taking Bacon's Opinion thereon?

Ans.—"It appears to the Court by the 4th Article of the Agreement, that the Company have reserv'd to themselves the power of purchasing what Cattle they shou'd Esteem necessary, without consulting Bacon, it not being mention'd in any part of the Articles that Bacon is to be consulted. They also think that Mr. Morgan was a very proper [person] to value the Negroe, as he had at that time a Parcel for Sale, & it appears to us that good ones Sold for 1800 to 2000 Livres—they refer to fo: 17.

Col. W.—Pages "(18 & 19.) Mr. Bacon still demands the accots: to be Settled, Mr. Morgan's Letters produc'd Show fair Promises; but why not the accounts Settled? I dont find by the proceedings that Bacon hath any Books to amuse the Court, did not Bacon go to Kaskaskia for that purpose, & doth not Mr. Elliott Declare that him and Mr. Morgan had some Talk on that head, tho' nothing was done to Stop this disagreeable Enquiry, till Steps were taken to bring it to a hearing?

Ans.—"We have to the best of our Judgment Settled Mr. Morgan's Accounts & it is our Opinion that the Sum of 27629 Livres and Six Derniers is Justly due from the Plan-

tation to Boynton Wharton & Morgan, and the Sum of 1591 Livres 4 Sol & Eight Derniers is justly due from Bacon on his private Account to the Aforesaid Boynton Wharton & Morgan, Agreeable to the Accounts Stated & Certified by us, which sums we do conceive ought to be immediately paid, To the said Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan. It is true Bacon had no Books to amuse the Court; But he had Abundance of disagreeable matter to trouble them with and his Impertinent Libells (which we Suppose he Terms addresses) Cannot be read by any man (that has the least degree of care for his character) without Indignation; and the adviser & abbettor trifling man, we cannot but Esteem in a disagreeable light, & must hold in the utmost Contempt. We think every thing was done by Mr. Morgan to Stop this affair—But it was not to be Stop'd—and it Still remains a Doubt where it may Stop.

Col. W.—Page "(20.) Mr. Bacon questions Mr. Elliott whether the latter being Settled is not a prejudice to the former. Mr. Winston in the 9th Page declares that Mr. Morgan gave Bacon Permission to Settle & improve the lands contiguous to Him & it wou'd seem so or why [should] Mr. Morgan pay Bacon for a Barn unjustly built?

Ans.—"The chief points, as they appear to the Court, are whether Mr. Elliott is Settled, or has incroached on lands belonging to Bacon's plantation. It appears by Bonthorn's Evidence that he has done Neither, if so Mr. Elliott Cannot be any farther a Prejudice to Bacon than one farmer woud be to another, on Acct. of being Situated near him. They Refer to their answers to the Observations on fo: 9. They look upon Mr. Morgan's offering to pay Bacon as an Indulgence, they fear hee'l hardly merit. See fo: 7 & 8 of the Revisal.

Col. W.—Pages "(21 & 22.) Mr. Morgan Introduces thro a third person (Mr. Elliott) what a Certain Gentn: Shou'd Say, why not? Mr. Rumsey call'd on by the Court to

answer for himself thro' the whole proceedings as a principal concern'd. And why am I brought on the Carpet as having sent messages to Mr. Elliott & giving Permission to Settle &c., &c.; Mr. Elliott might have Acquainted the Court with the answers I gave him when he Spoke to me on that head lately, but this I shall take more cognizance of in due time.

Ans.—"Mr. Elliott did mention to the Court a Conversation he had with Mr. Bacon, in which Mr. Bacon introduc'd A Dialogue between him and Mr. Rumsey which they by no means think redounds to the credit of the latter. The Court in charity declin'd calling on Mr. Rumsey (tho' they clearly perceiv'd him to be the principal Manager of ye Puppet) But resolv'd, to let him go on working in the Dark, as they fear not many of that Gent'ns actions, wou'd not bear being brought to light. As Lt. Colonel Wilkins's Name was not disrespectfully mention'd, but only introduc'd in Relating matters of Fact, The Court are not conscious of any impropriety in permitting it.

Col. W.—Page "(23.) Mr. Elliott Seems to have been a busey man in this hearsay Enquiry, & it wou'd Seem time Enough for Mr. Morgan to bring in the Huggermugger proceedings when they commence, which in All probability never wou'd have been the case if Mr. Elliott had not made Encroachments on his Improvements:

Ans.—"In answer to the Observation on fo: 23. The Court are Sorry to differ in Sentiment from Lt. Colonel Wilkins, they are far from thinking that Mr. Elliott Acted otherwise than as an honest man. The Enquiry on the part of Bacon, may be justly term'd an hearsay, as he has not brought One Single Evidence able to Support his Allegations, he brought one Bonthorn (O Rediculous) to relate a Story to the Court which he had from Bacon himself, this may Justly be deem'd hearsay. The Court are

of Opinion the Huggermugger Proceedings have long Since commenc'd. It does by no means appear to the Court that Elliott has incroach'd on Bacon.

Col. W.—Page "(24.) Mr. Morgan Enters on his Defence with Assertaining his property or lands in Dispute, But when Mr. Winston was desir'd by the Court to take some Frenchman's Opinion on like occasion, I return'd for answer, that the Deeds only Shou'd carry Weight in that affair & hoped the Court would be of same Opinion.

Ans.—"By desire of the Court, Mr. Morgan did prove his Titles, to the Lands which he had purchased in the Grand Prairie, which they Look'd upon to be well authenticated, as they were Sign'd by the register as being properly recorded. The Attention the Court paid the Deeds has confirm'd them in their Opinion, which they are determin'd to abide by.

Col. W.—Page "(25.) Mr. Brown Corroborates perfectly with Mr. Morgan in every thing he has asserted Respecting the Boundaries of the Plantation, & Messrs. Elliott, Kenedy, & Louverie have measur'd & Settled the Boundaries & Distance &c; without my Seeing any Title thereto.

Ans.—"It Appear'd to the Court, that Brown, Elliott, and Kennedy did measure the lands for Mr. Morgan, & they are all clear and Exact in their Accounts of the Limits. The Court are of Opinion the Records of which Lt. Colonel Wilkins, is in Possession, wou'd if Examin'd, Sufficiently Shew the Titles, Notwithstanding Lt. Colo. Wilkins was pleas'd to assert in Court, That Records were no proofs, & that he shou'd Pay no Attention to them.

Col. W.—"N. B. No notice is taken in the proceedings of Mr. Bacon's Assertion respecting Mr. Morgan's Declaration to Elliott, Viz.—That they had made Nine thousand Livres by the Plantation the first Year. Bacon's Observations thereon are worthy the Notice of the Court, by which means they will be better able to Judge of Mr. Bacon's Deserts. (Sign'd) JOHN WILKINS.

Ans.—"From the Large Sums Expended by Mr. Morgan for the Benefit of Mr. Bacon & the Company there ought to have arose very handsome Profits, unless Great missmanagement Occasion'd the contrary. The Court had a Sufficient Opportunity during the Course of their proceedings to Judge of Bacon's Deserts.

"The Court Possitively Assert that neither Mr. Brown or Mr. McFee, acted in any indecent manner whatever during their Sitting. They are Sorry to Observe Lt. Colonel Wilkins has paid more attention to Low Tattle than to Assurances of his Officers in this matter.

Sign'd: LEWIS WYNNE, Lt. President. ALEX. FOWLER, Lt: THOS: HUTCHINS, 60th Regt: WM. RICHARDSON, Ensign. WM. CONOLLY, Ensign." * } Members

"BACON'S IMPERTINENT ADDRESS."

"To the Honourable Court of Enquiry. Gentlemen—I have nothing further to Say more than what I have allready mention'd in the pagers given in & the appeal to which I refer, I therein think it Clearly explain'd, that the Settlement of Mr. Elliott or any Person must consequently prove injurious to my plantation, render all my Endeavours abortive, & finally enslave me by a continuance thereon. Have I not mention'd Cattle taken from me to be deliver'd Mr. Elliott? Mr. Morgan depriving me of my Customers? Is not the Settlement of another person dividing his powers to Serve me? And is it natural to imagine that I can proceed with the Same Industry after depriving me of that which was the only means of Inducing me to Subscribe to Such Severe Terms. Viz.—all his assistance. The land mention'd in the Articles I never cultivated, my

* Endorsed:—"To Colo. Wilkins's Observations on a Court of Enquiry &c &c; No. 6."

present Improvements are upon the King's Lands upon the Hills. Mr. Elliott Settled there also, & not upon any purchase as represented, the high lands never having been Grant'd to any Person. If Mr. Morgan lays any Stress upon the plantation mention'd in the articles (wherein no Boundaries are discrib'd) why did he desire me to cultivate the high lands? or lay out so much money thereon. Surely if I am not to enjoy what I have Improv'd at least for my Seven Years, it cannot be Expected that I am to pay any proportion of the immense Sums laid out thereon? without my ever being Even consulted. Therefore, I humbly flatter myself, you cannot think me liable for any Sums Mr. Morgan shall think proper to charge, without my permission, being a joint partner I declare that I will abide by no charges or Bargains allready or hereafter to be made without my knowledge & consent. I mean by this the Immense Sums allready said to be Expended, which I hope no Court of honour & Justice will make me Subject to, tho I have been and was this day in the utmost despair, The Honble. Commdt: in this Country has given me a dawn of hope by the Expressions he made use of this day, in declaring he wou'd be the friend & Supporter of Every honest man in Opposition to all oppressors, tho the Sufferer be even a Negroe himself. Although I understood the present Court have only to give their opinion respecting the matter in Debate, I humbly flatter myself it will be Such as will put my Course in Such a light as to be of Service & feel my Injuries tho' I cant Express them, for the Reasons Set forth this day by Mr. Kennedy, &c;

"P. S. I must once more appeal to the papers I have allready given in, as I do not clearly understand many of ye questions put to me.

"I am with Respect, Gentlemen, Your most humble Servt. (Sign'd) RICHD. BACON.

"FORT CHARTRES, 10th Octr: 1770."

"We do hereby certify that the above is a malicious Insolent Libel.

Sign'd: { LEWIS WYNNE, Lt.
ALEXR. FOWLER, Lt.
THOS. HUTCHINS, Ens: 60th Reg.
WM. RICHARDSON, Ensn:
WM. CONOLLY, Ens:"*

REHEARING PROCEEDINGS.

"By an Order Issued by Lieutenant Colonel John Wilkins—The Court met this 17th of October nine of the clock in the morning, to revise their proceedings and Sentence given in favour of Mr. Morgan, on a matter of Difference between said Morgan & Richard Bacon; as also to answer such remarks and Observations as Colo. Wilkins had made on said proceedings.

"The Court being Assembled, all Parties were admitted. The Judge Advocate then Read Mr. Bacon's Remonstrance to Colonel Wilkins for a Revisal of the Proceedings; also a letter from Colo. Wilkins to the Court, with his Opinion, and Observations on the proceedings, & Sentence Annex'd.

"Question propos'd by the Court to Mr. Bacon.—'As you complain of a Breach of the Articles of Agreement (in your Remonstrance) between you and Mr. Morgan, you'll be so kind as to point out to the Court wherein consists said Breach of Articles?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I look upon the Land Mr. Elliott is Settled upon as belonging to the Plantation, I agreed with Boynton, Wharton, & Morgan to Improve, as Mr. Morgan gave me leave to Improve it.'

"Court to Mr. Bacon.—'Did Mr. Morgan agree with you or is it mention'd in your Articles of Agreement with him, that he, Mr. Morgan, was not at Liberty to Settle any Person he pleas'd upon any Lands he might in future pur-

* Endorsed:—"Richd. Bacon's fourth Impertinent Address to the Court, Dated Ft. Chartres, 18th October, 1770. No. 8."

chase after your Agreement with him the 21st March 1768?'

"Bacon.—'I never understood from Mr. Morgan, that he had any Intention to Settle any other person near the plantation he had Settled me upon.'

"Court.—'Do you look upon the Land now Occupied by Mr. Elliott, to be the Lands or part of the Lands alluded to in your Articles of Agreement with Mr. Morgan?'

"Bacon.—'I looked upon it as part of the Plantation, because Mr. Morgan desir'd me to Improve it.'

"Court.—'Was it immediately after your Agreement with Mr. Morgan, that he gave you Liberty to Improve the Lands now Occupied by Mr. Elliott?'

"Bacon.—'No; it was not immediately—it was some time After.'

"William Bonthorn a witness of Mr. Bacon's being call'd upon; did not appear. Mr. Bacon being ask'd by the Court, what this Bonthorn was to prove. Answer'd, that he had often heard him Say, that the Plantation was fourteen Acres in Front extending in Length from the Roches to the Mississippi.

"Mr. Bacon complains in his Remonstrance to Colonel Wilkins, of being often Reprov'd by the Court, and told that every thing was going against him, and that in absolute Despair of doing himself Justice he forbore mentioning many things he cou'd have done. Being ask'd by the Court in what manner he was Reprov'd. He Says, the Court told him that they were very Sorry to observe, that they looked upon him once, as a very Industrious, Sober, honest man, but they thought him now a very troublesome Litigious Fellow, 'and that if I did not bring Evidence to prove what I had Asserted against Mr. Morgan more clearly than what I had Done, I must turn out a Scoundrel at last: and also that if I did not Support the charge of the Ox brought against Mr. Morgan, that Mr. Morgan cou'd bring an Action against me at common Law.' Mrs.

Casey being call'd upon by Mr. Bacon with respect to Mr. Brown (a clerk of Mr. Morgan's) telling Mr. Bacon, that one of his cattle had Stray'd to Post St. Vincent, and being ask'd by the Court what She knew of this matter, Says—that She heard Mr. Brown & Mr. Bacon talking about Twenty Six head of cattle, that were brought from Post St. Vincent to the Plantation; and that Mr. Brown told Mr. Bacon that one of them had Stray'd back to Post St. Vincent.

"Mr. Bacon having none of his Evidences present the Court was oblig'd to Adjourn till to morrow morning Nine of the Clock, when all parties were Order'd to give Attendance."

"Thursday, 18th October, 1770. The Court met this morning at Nine of the Clock pursuant to Adjournment.

"William Bonthorn came before the Court as an Evidence in favour of Mr. Bacon. Being desir'd by the Court to Relate what he knew of the matter in Debate between Mr. Morgan & Mr. Bacon Says—that he heard Mr. Bacon Say, that he intended to fence in a piece of Ground, which he imagin'd wou'd extend his Plantation Fourteen Acres in Front. He adds that he has heard Mr. Bacon Say, that Mr. Morgan has purchas'd more lands & that he understood that Mr. Bacon was to improve the last purchase as well as the First.

"Mr. Bacon desires Bonthorn to relate to the Court, what he knows concerning the Improvements he had made where Mr. Elliott is now Settled.

"Bonthorn.—'Some time before I went to Mr. Bacon's to live which was in Septr: 1768 Mr. Bacon had clear'd a Small piece of Land, and intended he said to make a Field there. I know of no other Improvements, but a Small House that was built by Agreement for one Campbell, who Imagin'd was to Settle there. We cut some Timber off Said land, for building A Barn and other Uses.'

"Court to Mr. Bacon.—'Mr. Bacon you have Set forth in your Petition that you was told every thing was going against you—be kind Enough to relate to the Court from whom you had this Information?'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Mr. Fowler told me so.'

"Mr. Patrick Kennedy was call'd upon by Mr. Bacon to relate to the Court what passed on the 27th September last between the Judge Advocate, Court & Mr. Bacon; Deliver'd to the Court the Annex'd Paper which was Read Publickly by the Judge Advocate, all Parties Present.[:]

PATRICK KENNEDY'S EVIDENCE.

"Gentlemen:—On the 27th Day of Septemr. I was Call'd upon by Mr. Morgan to attend a Court of Enquiry held at Fort Chartres & during my Stay there happened the following words between the Judge Advocate & Mr. Bacon:

"1st. Judge Advocate.—'Mr. Bacon you see that all these witnesses you got this day is all Against you, so I beg you will desist from asking them any more questions.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Gentlemen, I think the Evidences are as much in my favour as in Mr. Morgan's as they make the Sum one hundred & fifty Livres more than was mention'd.'

"Court.—'You have no Right to think about it at all, Sir.'

"2d. J. Advocate.—'Mr. Bacon I must needs tell you, you have bad Advisers that may lead you into Scrapes, that you wont readily get out of, (I Suppose you will tell that to Mr. Rumsey to go along with the rest, you have told him) for my part I dont Care what you tell him, & you may tell him I said So.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'I have been a Good friend to you Mr. Bacon & does Still intend it notwithstanding what has happened.'

"3d. J. Advocate.—'You see Mr. Bacon what Mr. Mor-

gan Says that he will Still be your friend tho you have brought things to Such a head.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'I disregard any Services yt Mr. Morgan may do for me, as I Dont Intend to have any thing to do with him for the future.'

"4th. J. Advocate.—'You are A very impertinent fellow I must needs tell you, Mr. Bacon, that is no answer to give here, your Character heretofore, was very good in the Eyes of Every one but now we find that you will Appear a Troublesome, wrangling Sort of a fellow, and if you dont bring better proofs to Support what you have Alleged against Mr. Morgan I am afraid you will turn out the Scoundrel & Rascal at last; you have got above your business, like a great many others when they Come to this Country.'

"Mr. Bacon.—'Gentlemen I am very Sorry that I should Say any thing to Disoblige the Court, & Humbly beg Pardon.'

"The above is an Impartial Acct. to the best of my knowledge & remembrance. I am Gentlemen Your Humble Servant. (Signd) PATT. KENNEDY."

"Mr. Fowler's Remarks on Mr. Kennedy's Evidence:—The first Charge (if it can be Call'd by that Appelation) I partly allow Except the Diction which I absolutely deny. This was as Mr. Kennedy Says on the 27th September, & he might have added, when Monsr. La Source, who was called upon by Mr. Bacon to Support Some charges against Mr. Morgan, was giving his Evidence—see Page 17 of the proceedings. Whether or not it was my business as Judge Advocate to desire Bacon to desist from calling Evidence that was hurtful to his cause, I leave to the Decission of Colo. Wilkins and every other man of Probity, Impartiality & Common sense. To Mr. Kennedy's Second Charge, there was also some such Discourse happened, tho far from

being Verbatim. As it was Evident that Mr. Bacon cou'd not write the papers deliver'd to the Court, it was natural to think, & without doubt, he had advisers: And as I had a Letter from Mr. Rumsey the preceding Evening, hinting to me, not to be premature in giving my Opinion of a man I had yet little knowledge of & who wish'd me well, I was Convinc'd that Mr. Bacon had Commenc'd Tatler—& an Infamous, lying, Slandering Tatler, too. I answer'd Mr. Rumsey's Letter to his Satisfaction. I therefore on telling & advising him to desist, said that whoever was his advocate in this matter, I thought him a very bad one: that if it was Mr. Rumsey, Bacon (as he had Commenc'd Carrying Extraordinary Intelligence) might if his memory cou'd retain it, Communicate what I said to Mr. Rumsey; for what I had Said, or wou'd Say, in that Court, I wou'd Say, if Mr. Rumey and all the world was present.

"As to the fourth Charge, from an answer Bacon gave to Mr. Morgan I did Say that I thought he was a very Impertinent fellow & added that I was Sorry for it as I had even heard Mr. Morgan Speak of him with a Warmth, which he little deserved from what he had now said.

"In the Course of the proceedings & from the Style & nature of the papers Deliver'd to the Court from time to time he has fix'd an Opinion with me which only an Oposite Behaviour of Mr. Bacon can Eradicate.

ALEX. FOWLER, Lt. in the
"FORT CHARTRES, 18th or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot,
19th October 1770. & acting Dep'y Judge Advocate."*

"Mr. Bacon desires Bonthorn to relate to the Court what he knows of him (Mr. Bacon) receiving two Hogs from one Gotio, for which Mr. Morgan has charg'd him one hundred & Sixty Livres.

* "Mr. Patrick Kennedy's Evidence—what pass'd in Court 27 Septemr last, with Mr. Fowler's remarks theron. No. 7."

"Bonthorn.—'I Remember Mr. Bacon bringing one Sow from Kaskaskia, when I was with him in the latter end of Year 1768, but I Remember of no more.'

"Mr. Bacon Still insisting that he did not receive the two Hoggs from Gotio for which Mr. Morgan had charg'd him one hundred & Sixty Livres — adding that he was willing to make [an oath] that he never Receiv'd them.

"Mr. Morgan to Bonthorn.—'Is the Land which you have mention'd to the Court in your former Evidence to be Plow'd or Improv'd by Mr. Bacon; is it, in the Grand Prairie, or on the back of the Roches?'

"Bonthorn.—'It is Situated on the Grand Prairie.'

"Court.—'Has Elliott made Encroachments thereon?'

"Bonthorn.—'I dont think he has.'

"Mr. Morgan to Bonthorn. — 'Has Mr. Elliott Encroach'd on the Plantation Assign'd to Mr. Bacon in any respect?'

"Bonthorn.—'I know of no Encroachments except Mr. Elliott's calfs getting among his corn, may be Esteem'd one:—and I dont remember that there was any Fences to keep them out.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Was the House Built by Mr. Bacon Occupied; or did Mr. Bacon make any use of it when Mr. Elliott took possession?'

"Bonthorn.—'No; It was not.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Had Mr. Bacon ever plow'd the Land he talks of Improving, or had he ever Fenced it in?'

"Bonthorn.—'No.'

"Mr. Morgan.—'Was the House built by Mr. Bacon of any use or advantage to the Plantation?'

"Bonthorn.—'I suppose Mr. Bacon intended it to be of use, but I dont think it was of any.'

"Mr. Bacon desires that Mr. Patrick Kennedy will relate to the Court, what he has heard Mr. Elliott Say with Respect of his being Settled where he is.

"Mr. Kennedy Says he has heard Mr. Elliott Say in common discourse, that he thought he was prejudicial to Mr. Bacon, by being Settled where he was, and observ'd, that by having the use of the Spring & cutting the Timber that Mr. Bacon formerly had the use of, must be of great disadvantage to him.

"Mr. Morgan to Mr. Kennedy.—'Did Mr. Elliott say he was Illegally or unjustly a disadvantage to Mr. Bacon?'

"Mr. Kennedy.—'No. He did not, He said it was of no kind of Consequence to him for that Mr. Morgan was to find him a Plantation.'

"Mr. Morgan to Bonthorn.—'You'll relate to the Court what you know, and what pass'd between Mr. Bacon and yourself regarding the remarkable Fat Ox at Kaskaskia now in Question?'

"Bonthorn.—'One day after Breakfast at Mr. Elliott's, Mr. Bacon was talking to Mr. Elliott about the Ox. They call'd to me—and Mr. Bacon Ask'd me if I remember'd Such an Ox, mentioning the colour. I said I remember'd the Ox, as he was pretty remarkable. I told Mr. Elliott & Mr. Brown what Age I thought he was of; and Mr. Elliott at the same time said that by the Discription I had given of him he Suppos'd it was the same Ox. Some days after this Mr. Bacon went down to Kaskaskia to see the Ox; and he desir'd me to go down afterward, & take some Potatoes to Mr. Morgan, and make myself certain if this was the Ox: I asked of Mr. Bacon what I shou'd Say to Mr. Morgan, when I went down concerning the Ox: Mr. Bacon told me by no means to Speak of the Ox to Mr. Morgan, as I wou'd See him in the Yard Amongst the other cattle—after I had taken a look at the Ox, I told Mr. Bacon that I cou'd not be positive, whether it was the same Ox or not, as his colour had chang'd; altho from his Shape & Appearance I thought it was the Ox, Yet I cou'd not venture to make Oath that it was.' Bonthorn Adds,

that he heard Mr. Bacon Say, that Mr. Morgan did not dispute, but it was the Ox, and [the one] that he (Mr. Bacon) wanted.

"From a complaint Mr. Bacon preferr'd against Ens: Hutchins in his Remonstrance to Colonel Wilkins, for allowing Mr. Morgan to Sleep in his Appartment. Ensign Hutchins thought it was necessary to Acquaint the Court with Respect to the charge Relative to Mr. Morgan Sleeping in the Room of one of the members of the Court. That During his Acquaintance with Mr. Morgan (which he said was for some years) He has had dealings with him to a very considerable Amount, as well on account of the crown, as his own private Account, and always had found his Behaviour like that of an Honest man and a Gentleman. He therefore Asked Mr. Morgan to Sleep in his Room, as it wou'd be more convenient to him during the Setting of the Court than going every Evening to the Village, particularly as the beds in his house were Occupied by Sick persons; and not Imagining it cou'd be the least Reflection on the Court or himself, as he had first Ask'd, & obtained Colonel Wilkin's Permission for Mr. Morgan to Sleep in the Fort. Ens: Hutchins further adds, that he cannot help Expressing his Surprise at Colo. Wilkins allowing of a complaint of this nature to be Exhibited, as he very well know Mr. Morgan Sleeping in the Fort, was by his (Colo. Wilkins's) Own Permission which was ask'd in writing every Evening during Mr. Morgan's Stay in the Fort. This Mr. Hutchins can prove, as well as Colonel Wilkins' Permission by his Servant, who carried his written requests & brought the Colonel's answers to them.

"The Court desir'd Mr. Bacon to Inform, if he had any more questions to ask the Evidences present or if, He had any more Evidences to Examine before the Court. He answer'd, he had not.

"Mr. Bacon Deliver'd this Evening to the Judge Advo-

cate (after the Court was Adjourn'd) the Annex'd Paper, which was Read by him to the members of the Court, and was deem'd by them a trifling Insulting Libel, upon the conduct of the Court, & of no kind of use, in Settling the matter of difference between Mr. Morgan & Mr. Bacon.

"Mr. Morgan Deliver'd to the Court, a certificate sign'd by Mr. James Elliott, and Witness'd by Mr. Thomas Mc Fee, which Runs as follows:

"'I Do hereby Certify that Mr. Bacon has at Sundry Times, said, that he never woud have made the complaints, he has against Mr. Morgan, had it not been his knowing that Mr. Morgan was not upon good Terms with Colonel Wilkins & with Mr. Rumsey, and that he, Mr. Rumsey, had Influence Enough over Colo. Wilkins to make him his Friend in said Dispute: and Likewise that Mr. Rumsey had promis'd to Support him therein, & carry him through it. Witness my hand this 16th October 1770.

"'In the presence of (Sign'd) JAMES ELLIOTT.'
THOS. MCFEE.'"

"This Certificate the Judge Advocate [read] Publickly in Court: after which the Court was clear'd, when they proceeded to answer the Remarks and Observations made by Colo. Wilkins; to Deliberate on what had pass'd in Court between Colonel Wilkins & Mr. Morgan; and Finally to give their Opinion on the whole of the proceedings & Revisal all of which is Faithfully Transcrib'd by

(Sign'd) ALEXR. FOWLER, Lt. in the
18th or Royal Irish Regimt:
Acting Dep'y Judge Advocate.

"N. B. A mode of Agreement concerning A Tract of Land Granted by Colonel Wilkins (if approv'd of by the General) To Mr. Galloway, Mr. Boynton, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Morgan & Mr. Rumsey, with one Sixth Reserv'd for Colonel Wilkins, was Read by the Judge Advocate.

"A Breach of the Articles of Agreement, being the only matter in Our Opinion, Bacon shoud have attended to, yet this was Artfully Avoided: and when Mr. Morgan was desiring & Impressing Mr. Bacon to prove His allegations with respect to A Breach in the Articles of Agreement, Colo: Wilkins being present repremanded him; and told him that he disturb'd the Court; and also said in open Court, that he was Convinced Mr. Morgan was Guilty of a Breach of Articles; and that the Court had no Right to give Sentence, only to give their Opinion.

"The Court thinks that they were Interrupted in their proceedings by Colonel Wilkins being present; and also thinks that Colonel Wilkins from what he said looks upon the Gentlemen that constitute this Court in so Cypherical & Indifferent a sense, as to be Incapable of giving an honest Impartial Opinion. This the Gentlemen of the Court are sorry to observe, and it is with the utmost concern they mention it. But from Colonel Wilkins allowing of an Appeal, thro the Channel of Himself; couch'd in a collection of words foreign to the Dispute; Replete with bitter Ill-timed Invective; with Impertinent & Groundless Reflections, and with A Variety of False, Scandalous, & Imaginary Assertions, they cou'd not with Safety, & Justice to themselves, Pass it Over altogether Unnotic'd.

"What they have done, has been done Cooly & Deliberately; is the Dictates of honest, upright Hearts, Supported by clear & uninterrupted Imaginations; Free, & unfetter'd, by malice, Envy, Prejudice or Partiality, we have hereunto Annex'd our Opinions. Conscious of this (tho much concern'd for Differing so widely in Opinion from Colonel Wilkins) we have Subscrib'd our Names, without Trembling with Guilt, as Bacon wou'd Intimate, or without Shaking for the consequences."

"The Court in Consequence of Colonel Wilkin's Orders of the 16th of this Instant met to revise their Proceedings,

and Sentence pass'd the 4th of this Instant on a matter of Difference between Geo: Morgan Esqr. & Mr. Richard Bacon, as also to answer such Remarks, and Observations, as Colonel Wilkins had made on said proceedings, And after having carefully Revis'd said proceedings, & Examin'd what other Witnesses Mr. Bacon Call'd upon to Support his charges, as well as Read and Heedfully meditated on his Remonstrance, and his paper deliver'd to the Judge Advocate the 18th Instant; are unanimously & Firmly of Opinion, that his Remonstrance, as well as paper of the 18th, are Infamous, Impertinent Libels, on the Proceedings of the Court; And that neither they, nor the witnesses he has call'd upon, has in any Degree whatever, Prov'd, that Mr. Morgan has oppress'd Mr. Bacon, & therefore we must beg leave to Refer Lieut. Colonel Wilkins to the Sentence or Opinion given by us the 4th of October, which is Annex'd to the Proceedings, and which we must out of regard for our own Honour, as well as Justice to the parties concern'd Religiously Abide by.

"And we do hereby Refer Lt. Colo. Wilkins To said Sentence or Opinion Accordingly.

(Sign'd) A. FOWLER, Lt. in 18th or Royal Irish Regt: of Foot, Acting D'y Judge Advocate.

Sign'd: { LEWIS WYNNE, Lt. & Presdt. / ALEX.R. FOWLER, Lt. / THOS. HUTCHINS, Ens. 60th Regt: / WM. RICHARDSON, Ensn: / WM. CONOLLY, Ensn:" * } Members

The court certainly came out ahead in the matter of the rehearing. It not only reaffirmed its former judgment and reiterated in additionally strong language its former opinion of the defendant, but insinuated as positively as it could,

* Endorsed:—"Minutes on the Revisal of a Court of Enquiry on a Matter of Difference between Geo: Morgan Esqr: & Mr. Richard Bacon, Commencing the 16th & Ending the 20th October 1770."

within courteous bounds, its opinion of the commandant.

It was doubtless out of this and other like proceedings, and his disposition to make grants of land to favored purchasers, reserving an interest for his own benefit, that there grew up a very bad state of feeling in the Illinois country between the commandant and the different classes of citizens, which increasing in factional bitterness finally resulted in bringing charges against Col. Wilkins for mal-administion, especially in charging the government with sums expended for his private account. He invited an investigation and tendered his resignation in September, 1771, but was not superseded in his command until the following spring, when he left for New York and sailed for London in July, 1772.*

We have no account of the result of the investigation, nor of the colonel's subsequent career, except that it is stated that he died or left the army at the close of the year 1775, his name not thereafter appearing on the army-list.†

* Brymner's "Calendar of Canadian Archives, report of 1884," pages 54 and 56.

† "Colonial History of New York," VIII, 185.

EARLY CHICAGO AND ILLINOIS.

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